

# The Classical Review

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*The Editor of the CLASSICAL REVIEW will be glad to receive short paragraphs (or materials for such paragraphs) upon classical topics of current interest. These should reach him as early as possible in the month preceding the publication of the REVIEW.*

Prof. Andrew A. F. West whose statistics of the growth of classical studies in America appeared in our last issue reviews the general educational situation in the *Atlantic Monthly* of December. He believes that Greek will make accelerating progress in secondary schools. His words upon the relation of Greek and Latin may be quoted, as they present a familiar but not always remembered truth with the light of fresh experience.

'Without Greek the demand of Latin for its full integrity cannot be met. Greek is in Latin as French is not in German, or German in French. But Latin is not in Greek. It may be taught with advantage, with great advantage, but without Greek it cannot be taught to the best advantage, because it is cut off from a large range of important illustration and support. This has been seen again and again in our schools. Classes studying Greek and Latin regularly surpass classes studying Latin alone.'

The restoration of Latin to its former position as a universal language has found a recent advocate in Dr. F. Tönnies of Hamburg. Dr. Tönnies thinks that in 'the resurrection of neo-Latin' may be found a remedy for the mischiefs arising out of the inconsistency and irrationality of 'philosophical terminology,' which all philo-

sophers deplore. His arguments, which will be found in the January number of *Mind*, are well worthy of attention. But Latin, it is not rash to predict, will not cease to be a dead language until it is taught as a living one.

The standing notice at the head of this page appears in the present issue for the last time. Its omission does not mean that the contributions which it invites will be less welcome than heretofore. On the contrary it is the hope of the editor that the future will furnish more of such contributions than the past.

The editor avails himself of the opportunity which the New Year presents to offer his warmest thanks to the scholars who have offered contributions to the *Classical Review* during the last eighteen months. He regrets that of some of these he has been able to make no use through the remediable omission of the names and addresses of the senders.

At the moment of going to press we hear from Mr. G. D. Kellogg of the discovery of a new fifteenth century manuscript of Catullus in the Vatican Library. Our next issue will contain further particulars.

## THE RYLANDS LIBRARY, MANCHESTER.

THE Rylands Library, Manchester, formally opened on October 6th, became accessible to students on the first day of the new year. It may, therefore, be of interest to note what scholars may expect to find there. Mrs. Rylands, to whom this noble benefaction is due, started with the thought of honouring her husband's memory by founding a thoroughly good library of reference, mainly for students of theology. But while she was engaged in securing a site, and collecting books, it came to be known that the Spencer Library at Althorp was in the market. Mrs. Rylands secured this at a cost, it is said, of £200,000: and thereupon enlarged her plans. The original design was not abandoned, but it was extended. The acquisition of this unrivalled collection at once raised the Rylands Library to a place not of local, but of national importance. The distinctive characteristics of the Spencer Library are of course known to all book-lovers. It contains a unique collection of early editions of the classics, of the incunabula of printing, of first editions both of English and of Italian authors, a very valuable series of Aldines, and of pseudo-Aldines, and the best editions of seventeenth and eighteenth century classics. There are excellent specimens of block-books: the first edition of *Il Decamerone* (and seven other editions dating from the fifteenth century); the first four folios of Shakespeare; in fact treasures of all kinds abound on every hand. To the Spencer Library Mrs. Rylands made very large additions, especially in the direction of theology, philosophy and modern

history; but no department has been neglected, which is requisite to make it a scholar's working library of reference. An excellent catalogue, in three quarto volumes, has been prepared by the accomplished bibliographer Mr. E. Gordon Duff, who is the senior librarian. In the housing of the library nothing has been left undone, which thought, judgment and an apparently unlimited generosity could provide to add to its beauty and dignity. A trifling sign of this is to be found in the fact that no iron is to be seen in the building: all metal-work is of gun-metal, even the casings of the heating apparatus. Mrs. Rylands will be President of the Library during her life-time, but she will be aided in the administration by a council of eighteen governors, ten representative, eight co-opted, two of the former being nominated by the Victoria University, two by the Owens College. A considerable proportion are to be Protestant ministers of religion, but there is abundant provision for the representation of laymen.

Manchester has long been fortunate above most cities in the matter of libraries. It has had collections, each with their own strong points, at the Chetham College, the Literary and Philosophical Society, the Owens College, the Lancashire College and the Whitworth Institute, as well as an admirable Free Library with its branches. But the creation of the Rylands Library raises it to a position which in some respects even Oxford and Cambridge can only look upon with envy.

A. S. W.

## HOMERICA (VI).

ON THE TERMINATION  $-\acute{\epsilon}\iota$  (FROM VERBS IN  $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ) BEFORE VOWELS IN HOMERIC VERSE.

It is often difficult to feel sure in dealing with a question of Homeric usage that the point has not already been the subject of discussion elsewhere in one or other of the innumerable articles which the study of Homer has evoked. Nothing short of the comprehensive erudition of the Provost of Oriel in this sphere could remove the misgiving. Subject then to this reservation I venture to think I am not

trespassing on occupied ground in suggesting that the accepted ideas with regard to the contraction of verbs in  $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  may in one, perhaps not unimportant, detail be expanded and improved.

We may take it as ascertained and admitted that in the third pers. sing. pres. indic. of these verbs, except where an original  $\varsigma$  or  $\sigma$  interposed,  $-\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota$  is freely contracted into  $-\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ . On this point it will suffice

for the sake of brevity to refer to the statement of the case in Mr. Monro's *Homeric Grammar* § 56. From the facts there set forth it would seem that this contracted syllable -ει, which is of tolerably frequent occurrence before a word beginning with a consonant (A 521, B 197, K 245, Π 94, 689), may be used also either with a long or a short quantity before a vowel. It is these two latter licences or conveniences that I propose now to call in question and, if possible, to refute, as ill-founded.

With regard to the former of the two it is curious to find that there is no example of it with -ει in arsis, though we might surely have expected at least one, if not more. On the contrary all the instances have this syllable in thesis. They are these so far as I have ascertained :—

Λ 554 καίόμεναί τε δεταί, τὰς τε τ ρ ε ι ἐσσύμ-  
μενος περ' = P 663.

Φ 362 ὥς δὲ λέβης ζ ε ι ἔδον ἐπειγόμενος  
πυρὶ πολλῷ.

Φ 575 τ α ρ β ε ι οὐδὲ φοβεῖται, ἐπεὶ κεν ὕλαγ-  
μὸν ἀκούσῃ.

Of course it is obvious enough—I shall waste no time in arguing the point—that in these passages we ought to have, not the contracted, but the resolved forms, that the original readings must have been respectively *τρείε*, *ζέει* and *ταρβέει*, making dactylic and not spondaic feet. Hence, I think, we may safely conclude that the contracted -ει never stands as a long syllable in Homer before a vowel either in arsis or in thesis.

Next we come to the case of -ει forming a short syllable, of course before a vowel. The instances of this in the vulgate are a little more numerous :—

Ξ 140 γ γ θ ε ι ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φόνον καὶ φύζαν  
Ἀχαιῶν—

N 285 τ α ρ β ε ι, ἐπειδὴν πρῶτον ἐσιζήται  
λόχον ἀνδρῶν,

ρ 382 τίς γὰρ δὴ ξείνον κα λ ε ι ἄλλοθεν  
αὐτὸς ἐπελθών—

α 192 πα ρ τ ι θ ε ι, εὖτ' ἂν μιν κάματος κατὰ  
γυῖα λάβῃσιν—

β 33 ἐσθλός μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὀνήμενος.

N 735 ὥς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα.

(Six times repeated.)

Now in all other instances of the shortening of contracted long syllables before initial vowels the principle seems to be that the uncontracted form is the one really considered as under treatment, and the treatment it receives is merely the elision in the

usual and ordinary way of the last syllable. For example ἦδη in γ 146

νήπιος, οὐδὲ τὸ ἦδη, ὃ οὐ πείσεσθαι ἔμελλεν

should be written ἦδε' (ἦδεε), as we have in B 409 ἦδεε γὰρ κατὰ θυμόν. So again A 160 τῶν οὗ τι μετατρέπη οὐδ' ἀλεγίζεις it is clear enough that *μετατρέπη* represents *μετατρέπαι* with *αι* elided.

This principle is, however, inapplicable to the case we are now discussing, because the diphthong -ει is not subject to elision. Accordingly on this *a priori* ground I argue that none of the shortenings of -ει are permissible or even possible.

Let us now examine the passages in detail and see if it is practicable to indicate in each case a solution, which will obviate the necessity of recognising this antecedently improbable license.

Ξ 140 presents no real difficulty; we must write with Barnes and others :—

γγθέει ἐν στήθεσσι.

N 285 is a little more difficult. Menrad would read *ταρβέει*, *αἰ κε πρῶτον*, but the temporal conjunction really seems to be essential here. I do not hesitate to suggest that the original was :—

ταρβέει ὅπποτε πρῶτον.

The later Greeks would be glad to get rid of both *ταρβέει* and *ὅπποτε*, and the supersession of the latter by its more up-to-date synonym *ἐπειδὴν* would be a very ready way to achieve both objects.

In ρ 382 *καλεῖ* is probably merely an indifferent and heedless substitution for an aorist, *κάλει*. The propriety of the gnomic tense here can hardly be questioned.

In α 192 *παρτιθεῖ* looks awkward at first sight, until we remember that the middle form of this verb is in usage almost equally admissible, *conf.*

ο 506 ἦσθεν δέ κεν ὕμνιν ὀδοπόριον παραβείμην  
δαῖτ' ἀγαθὴν κρειῶν τε καὶ οἶνον ἡδυνότοιο.  
α 132 πᾶρ δ' αὐτὸς κλισμὸν θέτο ποικίλον.

β 105 *παραβέιτο* (τ 150, ω 140). Ψ 810 *παρ-  
θήσομαι* (L S Lips) is probably to be preferred to the vulgate *παρθήσομεν*. Accordingly there can be no serious objection to the restoration in α 192 of *παρτίθετ'* (*παρτίθεται*). It is just such a form as would be sacrificed readily enough in later times.

Δοκεῖ is perhaps the most difficult to deal

with convincingly. The phrase, ὥς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, is so frequently repeated and is consequently so much a part of our traditional Homer, that it seems the height of daring to brand δοκεῖ as not authentic. Still here at least the form must be rejected. It would probably be pushing analogy too far to argue that the futures δόξω and δοκήσω presuppose δόκω and δοκέω, because we have ἔλκω and ἐλκέω accompanying ἔλξω and ἐλκήσω. Moreover there does in fact happen to be an epic word that afterwards fell entirely out of use, which may originally have occupied the position δοκεῖ now fills. I suggest then that Homer really said :—

ὥς μοι δέατ' εἶναι ἀριστα.

ἔσθλός μοι δέατ' εἶναι.

δέατο occurs ζ 242 and δοάσσατο, the aor. is not unknown, conf. ἔραμαι, ἡράσσατο, also Hesychius sub δέαται. All that has happened in our passages is that δέαται could not resist the encroachment of its later successful rival δοκεῖ.

It remains to say a word or two respecting those futures in -έει, which appear, contrary to the rule or in other words contrary to Homeric usage, to suffer contraction into -εῖ. There are four instances in all. The following passage contains two out of the four.

O 64 ὃ δ' ἀνστήσει ὃν ἐταῖρον  
Πάτροκλον· τὸν δὲ κτενεῖ ἔγχρ' φαίδιμος  
Ἴκτωρ  
Ἴλιον προπάροιθε, πολέας ὀλέσαντ' αἰζηροῦς  
τοὺς ἄλλους, μετὰ δ' υἱὸν ἐμὸν Σαρπηδόνα  
δίον.  
τοῦ δὲ χολωσάμενος κτενεῖ Ἴκτορα δίως  
Ἀχαιεύς.

A good deal has been written about this passage pro and con : ll. 56-77 have been rejected by various critics either in whole or in part, but this need not prevent our restoring the correct κτενέει, in the first instance, l. 65, by a simple transposition, in the second, l. 68, by a change, certainly rather more serious, but not really considerable, as it involves little more than the substitution of one conventional epithet for another :—

(65) Πάτροκλον· κτενέει δὲ τὸν ἔγχρ' φαίδιμος  
Ἴκτωρ—

(68) τὸν δὲ χολωσάμενος κτενέει πόδας ὠκὺς  
Ἀχαιεύς.

On this last it is necessary to remark that the reference of the traditional τοῦ (masc., as usage will avouch) to Patroclus is as forced as the reference of τὸν to Hector is easy. My suspicion is that Ἴκτορα first appeared as a marginal interpretation of τὸν. Afterwards it was worked into the verse by a little easy manipulation, and τὸν having so become superfluous was changed to τοῦ under the influence of χολωσάμενος.

The third instance is :—

T 103 σήμερον ἄνδρα φώσδε μογοστόκος  
Εἰλείθνια  
ἐκφανέϊ, ὃς παντεσσι περικτιόνεσσιν  
ἀνάξει.

Menrad hesitatingly suggests ἐκφανέει, ὃς πᾶσι, which van Leeuwen and da Costa hastily print, leaving the metre little better than before. I think we might read :—

ἐκφανέει πάντεσσι περικτιόνεσσιν ἀνάσσειν.

Fourthly, and lastly, we have from the exhortation of Antilochus to his horses :—

Ψ 411 οὐ σφῶν κομιδὴ παρὰ Νέστορι ποιμένι  
λαῶν  
ἔσσεται, αὐτίκα δ' ὕμμε κατακτενεῖ  
ὀξεῖ χαλκῷ,—

Here 412 is not to be altered, as has been suggested, into αὐτίκα δὲ κτενέει ὕμμ' ὀξεῖ χαλκῷ (Christ, v. Leeuwen and d. Costa), but should be deleted as an interpolation, intended to provide a needless verb for l. 411 in ἔσσεται. This is a frequent motive for interpolation, as could easily be shown. The rest, αὐτίκα...χαλκῷ, is a fanciful filling-up of the line. The threat is a wild one. It would serve as a fair illustration of the procedure known as cutting off one's nose to spite one's face. Nestor was too wise, too good an economist to destroy valuable cattle μαυρίδιως. He would have been more likely to sell them to a friend, ἵνα ἄσπετον ὦνον ἔλοιτο.

T. L. AGAR.



## ON THE MEANING OF σφενδόνη IN AESCH. AG. 997.

καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων  
κτησίων ὄκνος βαλὼν  
σφενδόνας ἀπ' ἐνμέτρον  
οὐκ' ἔδν πρόπας δόμος  
πημονᾶς γέμων ἄγαν,  
οὐδ' ἐπόντισε σκάφος.

Aesch. Ag. 995-1000.

Hermann followed by most modern editors and translators interprets σφενδόνας ἀπ' ἐνμέτρον by 'bene attemperato iactu,' 'a well measured throw.' This explanation, if explanation it can be called, has been sufficiently refuted by Prof. Housman (*Journal of Philology*, 16, 1888. p. 272) and by Dr. Verrall in his commentary *ad. loc.* and in *Appendix T* p. 213 *sqq.* Prof. Housman renders 'from a capacious sling, in English metaphor with unstinting hand.' Dr. Verrall's translation is 'discharging the measured scale,' with a note of interrogation appended. He suggests that some kind of instrument for suspending and weighing heavy goods was called a *sling*, but finally decides that, until the meaning of σφενδόνη in connexion with cargo can be positively ascertained, the whole passage must remain uncertain, and will scarcely repay further discussion. One of the inscriptions discovered by the French at Delphi proves that a σφενδόνη was part of an 'elevator' (*tolleno*) used in unloading vessels. The document, which is of great historical interest, was first published by Bourguet (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 20 1896. p. 197 *sqq.*), and is now to be found in Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*. n. 591, Dittenberger, *S.I.G.<sup>2</sup> n. 140*, Baunack, *Sammlung d. Griech. Dialekt.-Inscriften*. Bd. II Hft. 6. n. 2502 p. 652. It contains a record of sums of

money paid by the Council of Delphi between the years 351 B.C. and 328 B.C. (or 326 B.C.) to the commissioners for building the temple (οἱ ναοποιοὶ) and disbursed by these latter to contractors, workmen, and servants of various kinds. In the autumn of 348 B.C. the commissioners received 27 minae 25 staters: τοῖτον ἐδόθη Νικοδάμωι ποτὶ τὸ ἐγ Κίρραι μαχάνωμα καὶ τοῦ χώματος μναὶ τρεῖς, στατήρες τριάκοντα δύο, ὀβολοὶ ἑπτὰ, ἡμωβέλιον Νικοδάμωι σφενδόνας τιμὰν ποτὶ τὸ ἐγ Κίρραι μαχάνωμα στατήρες πεντήκοντα εἰς, ὀβολοὶ τέτορες. Οὐασίμωι λιθαγωγῶι κατὰ θάλασσαν μναὶ ἑκατὶ μία, στατήρες ἑκατὶ πέντε (ll. 45-47). The accounts show that stone, some of it carved and ready for its place in the temple, was being brought by sea from Corinth to Cirrha, the port of Delphi. 'The engine at Cirrha' was something corresponding to a crane; it was made of wood (l. 12), coated with pitch (ll. 55-6) and sometimes broke down (l. 62). The pier (χώμα) may have been an addition to the harbour made necessary by the deep draught of heavily loaded vessels. The 'sling' is thus explained by Bourguet, *op. cit.* p. 218: *c'est sans doute la pièce de la machine où l'on place les fardeaux à soulever: comme elle était suspendue à des cordes (τοπίων), la forme générale en pouvait être comparée à celle d'une fronde. Mais le mot ne se rencontre avec ce sens dans aucun texte.* It is not clear that the cordage (τοπίων l. 29, apparently a collective) for which 3 minae 22 staters were paid to Xenon was bought for an 'elevator,' but there can be no doubt that the stones were somehow attached to ropes and then swung up out of the hold, and on to the quay.

W. WYSE.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK LYRIC POETS.

POETAE LYRICI, ed. 4 Bergk (with Hiller-Crusius, 1897).

P. 39, Aleman 23, 11:

ἐκπεπῆς τὼς ᾤπερ αἶ τις  
ἐν βοτοῖς στάσειεν ἵππον  
παγὼν ἀεθλοφόρον καναχάποδα  
15 τῶν ὑποπετριδίων ὀνείρων.

Blass read τῶν at the beginning of v. 15, so that the reading of our MS. is the same tradition that Herodian followed. If only I could translate the words, I should feel less right to doubt; but I am at a loss to see what is the construction of the genitive; and knowing how common is the confusion of πετρ- and πετρ-, I cannot feel confident

that this strange form is genuine. *θάσσον' ὑποπεριδίων ὀνείρων*, for example, is what I should have looked for.

p. 45, Aleman 24:

οὐκ εἰς ἀνὴρ ἄγροικος οὐδὲ  
σκαῖός οὐδὲ παρὰ σοφοῖσιν.

Bergk calls *παρὰ σοφοῖσιν* 'manifestum mendum' and adds to the conjectures of Jacobs, Hartung, Welcker, Meineke, which are further multiplied by Crusius, p. xlvii. It appears to me perfectly sound and simple, 'you are not a boor or stupid even in wise men's judgment' or 'company': οὐδέ is merely the negative of *καί*.

p. 135 *fr.* 147 Himer. Or. xiii. 7 τὸν Βακχ[ε]ιώτην, οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ λύρα καλεῖ. Soph. O.C. 678 ὁ Βακχ[ε]ιώτας with the same mis-spelling, which is habitual. See Ellendt s.v., and Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 700.

p. 143, Erinna 4, A.P. vi. 352 δοξαπατῶν χειρῶν may be further illustrated by Gorgias *Helen* 10 γοητείας δὲ καὶ μαγείας δισσαὶ τέχνηαι εὐρηγται, αἱ εἰσι ψυχῆς ἀμαρτήματα καὶ δόξης ἀπατήματα. Hesych. s.v. Λυδία λίθος... ἡ δὲ μαγνήτης διαπατᾷ τὴν ὕψιν, ὡς δοκεῖν ἀργύριον εἶναι. The list of compounds may be increased by *μειρακιεξαπάται* Hegesand. (Ath. 162a), *ψευδαπάτης*.

p. 76, Aleman 145: Et. Gud. p. 395, 52: Μνήμη... Ἀλκμᾶν δέ, φασί, δόρκον αὐτὴν καλεῖ,...

Rather, I should imagine, *δορκών*, the accusative of *Δορκός*, as *Ἀγιδών fr.* 23, 58, pp. 41, 32. The Ionic accusative was -όν, the Aeolic also -ων, as *Λήτων*, *Ἥρων* Sappho *fr.* 71; therefore in E. M. 174, 38 (Sappho *fr.* 152) read τὴν γὰρ ἥν οἱ Αἰολεῖς αὐῶν φασί for *vv. ll.* αὐόν, αὐαν. Ionic was ἥοιν.

Personifications of this form were innumerable, as *φυσώ*, *κινώ* Emped. (which Hesych. calls Dorian, *κινώ: κίνησις. Δώριοι*), *Μελλώ*, *Μνημώ*, *Ὑμνώ*, *Δωρώ*, *Δεζώ*, etc. In the new fragment of Eur. *Antiope* I conjecture *Δενδρώ* τε μητρὸς ἐκλιποῦσ' ἐδώλια (εὐδένδροιο ματέρος Pind. *P.* iv. 74), as *Σπειώ*, *Κυμώ*, *Νησώ*, *Σιτώ*, *Ἰουλώ*, etc.

p. 85, Sappho 1, 7 πατὴρ δὲ δόμον λίποισα χρύσιον ἥλθες ἄρμ' ὑπαεὺξαισα.

Translators commonly take *χρύσιον* with *δόμον*, but Sappho meant the golden chariot of Aphrodite, which Appuleius, *Met.* vi. 113, says *Vulcanus aurifex* made for her *ipsius auri damno pretiosum*: p. 392 Ruhnken, with the note.

P. 115, Sappho 79:

ἐγὼ δὲ φίλημ' ἀβροσύναν, καὶ μοι ἔρος τὸ  
λάμπρον  
φάος <ποτόρην> ἀελίω καὶ τὸ κάλον λέλογχεν  
is practically Hartung's reading, and surely this or *ποτίδην* requires no confirmation. Yet it may seem perhaps to be confirmed by the following from Jacobs A.P. VI. p. 281 on Bacchyl. in Stob. *Flor.* 96, 25 'Plane contrario sensu Ursinus p. 205 ex Codice Stobaei edidit: θνατοῖς μὲν φῶναι φέριστον, καὶ δ' ἀελίω φάος ἔρος προσδεῖν.'

p. 118 *fr.* 90 γλύκερα as *fr.* 55, Κυπρογενίη *fr.* 87.

p. 168, Alcaeus *fr.* 50:

δοκίμοι δ' ἄριστος ἔμμεναι  
πάνων· αἱ δὲ κε.....φρένας οἶνος, ὅτ' ἰώτα-  
τος  
κάτω γὰρ κεφάλαν κατίσχει, τὸν φὸν θάμα  
θύμον αἰτιάμενος,  
πεδατρνόμενος τ' ἀχεύη, τὸ δ' οὐκέτι Φανδά-  
νει πῶ τάνδε, πῶ

ὁτλιώτατος (=τλημονέστατος) I suggest as the superlative of ὅτλιος, formed from ὅτλος as ἄθλιος from ἄθλος: cf. Hesych. iii. p. 230. Two readings given of the papyrus are *οιδιω- τοισσ* and *οιδ....σσ*. ἀχεύει (or ἀκεύη *silet*!) or ἀχεύη for ἀκετη or ἀκειη. Cf. Theognis 487 σὺ δ' ἔγχεε' τοῦτο μάταιον κοτύλλεις ἀεί. Ar. *fr.* 198. 4 τὸ 'καταπληγῆσει' τοῦτο. Liban. iv. p. 140 τὸ δὲ 'σιώπα' τοῦτο.

p. 199, Chilo: Diog. Laert. i. 71:

τῶν δὲ ἀδομένων αὐτοῦ μάλιστα εὐδοκίμησεν  
ἐκεῖνον·  
ἐν <μὲν> λιθίναῖς ἀκόνας ὁ χρυσὸς ἐξετάζεται  
διδούς βάσανον φανεράν·  
ἐν δὲ χρυσῷ  
ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε νοῦς ἔδωκ' ἐλεγχον.

So Bergk prints the passage, which does not appear to have been challenged; and indeed it was only the rhythm which at first excited my suspicion. There is a plausible smartness about the antithesis, enough to win it credit at first sight; and of course there is a sense which can be found for it. But remember that these are the most celebrated verses by one of the Seven Sages, whose wisdom, as Plato says (*Protag.* 342 E *sqq.*), consisted in their power of putting general truths in a brief and memorable form. Each was the one epigrammatist whose wit condensed the wisdom of the many, and embodied the undefined opinions of the race. Therefore we find the sentiments of the apophthegms ascribed to them<sup>1</sup> expressed in countless passages throughout

<sup>1</sup> Stob. *Flor.* 3. 79, 80.

the literature. But where do we find the sentiment that gold is a *touchstone* to try whether a man's mind be good or bad? Nowhere that I know; it is not a Greek thought.

No, χρυσῷ is merely a slip for χρόνῳ. That is the proverb that appears again and again: Simonid. Οὐκ ἔστιν μείζων βᾶσανος χρόνου οὐδενὸς ἔργου, ὅς καὶ ὑπὸ στέρνοις ἀνδρὸς ἔδειξε νόον.<sup>1</sup> Eur. fr. 303 ending χρόνος δίκαιους ἐπάγων κᾶνας δέκνυσιν ἀνθρώπων κακότητας. Theognis 119-128, 415-8, 449-52, 1105, Menand. Monost. 276 κρίνει φίλους ὁ καιρὸς ὡς χρυσὸν τὸ πῦρ. Isocrat. ad Demon. (a treasury of proverbial commonplaces<sup>2</sup>) p. 76 τὸ μὲν γὰρ χρυσίον ἐν τῷ πυρὶ βασανίζομεν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἐν ταῖς ἀτυχίαις διαγιγνώσκομεν. Trag. fr. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνος δείξει· μόνος γάρ ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων κριτής.<sup>3</sup> Chaeremon χρόνος δίκαιον ἀνδρα μὲνυίε ποτέ,<sup>1</sup> as Soph. O.T. 614, Pind. fr. 159; P. x. 67, O. x. 55, Lysias 157. 27 τῷ χρόνῳ ὃν ἡμεῖς σαφέστατον ἔλεγον τοῦ ἀληθοῦς νομίζατε, which is attributed to Thales.<sup>3</sup> The tests of truth and troth and character are time or trial, χρόνος, καιρὸς, πείρα (Pind. O. iv. 20, Eur. H.F. 59): but not χρυσός. You will have good rhythm at the same time by reading

διδοὺς βάσανον φανεράν, ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ.

p. 238 Ibycus 7 τᾶμος ἄπνος κλυτὸς ὄρθρος ἐγείρῃσιν ἀηδόνας (v.l. αἰδονιάς). In the *Journal of Philology*, xxi. p. 84, I suggested ἐγείρῃσι χελιδόνας, since the birds of dawn were the cock and swallow: Hes. Op. 568, A.P. v. 237, vi. 160, 247, Anacreont. 9, Nicet. Eugen. vi. 649, Appul. Flor. ii. 13. The nightingale being proverbially sleepless, would hardly need the dawn to wake her. Euripides, however, Phaethon fr. 773, 23, in a beautiful description of morning has μέλπει δ' ἐν δένδρεσι λεπτὰν ἀηδὸν ἁρμονίαν ὀρθρεομένα γόοις Ἴτυν Ἴτυν πολύθρνον.

p. 290 Anacr. 136 according to the statement of the *Et. Mag.* itself should be τῶνκάκη if 'written without the iota.'

p. 404 Simonid. 37 Danae: vv. 4, 5 would I think be correctly divided thus:—

ἀμφὶ τε Περσεΐ βάλλε φίλαν χέρ' εἰπέ τ'.  
ὦ τέκος οἶον ἔχω πόνον· σὺ δ' αὐαῖς.

In v. 8 the readings are κνώσσεις ἐν ἀετρεΐ δούρατι χαλκεογόμφῳ δὲ νυκτιλαμπεί κνανέῳ τε δνόφῳ τὰδ' εἰς αὐλέαν δ'... or τὰν δ' εἰς αὐλέαν δ'... or τὰδε εἰς αὐλέαν δ'... Here Blass con-

jectured ταθείς, which may be right; but I am inclined to see corruptions of τ' ἀδεής, for that is the most appropriate word conceivable. The whole purport of the passage is the contrast of her own emotions with the unconsciousness of her sleeping infant child. While she herself is in such deep distress and terror of the wind and sea, the babe, though cabined in this gloomy, perilous ark, still slumbers on in peace regardless of the rushing wave and roaring of the wind:

*Comme une algue morte, Tu vas, que t'importe ?  
Le courant t'emporte, Mais tu dors toujours !  
Sans soin, sans étude, Tu dors en chemin...*

The sentiment in Victor Hugo's poem is just the same. And to support this in Simonides, the next paragraph begins εἰ δέ τοι δεινὸν τό γε δεινὸν ἦν,...

We have not the means of determining which τε should be ejected; but I should think the first more likely to have been inserted.

In v. 18 rhythm conspires with the MSS. in suggesting

ἐκ σέθεν· ὅττι (εἴτι Schaefer) δὲ θαρσαλέον  
ἔπος

εὐχομαί εἴτε νόσφι δίκας, σίγγνωθι μοι.

for εὐχομαι τεκνόφι δίκας.

p. 457, Simonid. 100: part of this is used in an epitaph given by Cougny p. 593, and No. 128 (A.P. vii. 516) serves the same purpose, *Inscriptions of Cos*, 324, p. 210.

p. 499, Simonid. 151 A.P. xiii. 20:

Πατρίδα κυδαίνων ἱερὴν πόλιν Ὀπίς Ἀθήνης,  
τέκνον μελαίνης γῆς, χαρίεντας αἰλοῦς  
τούσδε σὺν Ἠφαίστῳ τελέσας ἀνέθηκ' Ἀφροδίτῃ  
καλοῦ δαμασθεῖς ἡμέρῳ Βρύσσωνος.

Bergk remarks that the authenticity is open to doubt; but, in any case, what is the meaning of τέκνον μελαίνης γῆς? Bergk offers no explanation; Hartung re-wrote the line altogether. Jacobs, VI. p. 246, says 'tibiae ex arundine compactas terrae filias vocat': and since that is an inappropriate description, Dübner, II. p. 462, thinks 'argenteae tibiae, fortasse ex Lauriensi argento intelligendae erunt.' τέκνον in the singular could not be said of αἰλοῦς in the plural, as Boissonade saw; but παῖδας, which he suggested, cannot be the text. The phrase cannot be anything but a description of Ὀπίς herself, 'a child of the brown earth,' the standing epithet of γῆ: that is *terrae filius*, of unknown origin, *progenies terrae* Pers. vi. 57 Jahn p. 225, *fraterculus gigant*is Juv. iv. 98 Mayor. 'γῆς ἄρ' ἐκ-

<sup>1</sup> Stob. Ecl. Phys. i.

<sup>2</sup> Whence the precepts of Polonius are in part derived.

<sup>3</sup> Stob. Ecl. Phys. i.

πέφυκα μητρός; asks Ion in the play v. 554. Crinag. *A.P.* vii. 371 (an epitaph on a slave) Γῇ μιν καὶ μήτηρ κυκλήσκειτο, γῇ με καλύπτει καὶ νέκυν'. Kaibel *Ep.* 606 on an actor, 1 παῖς γάιος, ... 4 γῆς ὧν πρόσθε γένος μητέρα γαῖαν ἔχω: see also his note in *Com. Graec. Fragm.* i. p. 206. This may account for the phrase πατρίδα κυδαίνων. It seems otherwise a strange occasion for mentioning the πατρίς: but if Opis has no parentage to boast, Athens (whatever may have been his legal rank in it) is at any rate his country.

p. 500, Simonid. *A.P.* xiii. 19:

Ανθήκεν τόδ' ἄγαλμα Κορίνθιος ὅσπερ ἐνέκα  
ἐν Δελφοῖς ποτε Νικολάδας,  
καὶ Παναθηναίους στεφάνους λάβε πέντ' ἐπ'  
ἀέθλους  
ἔξῃς ἀμφιφορεῖς ἐλαίου.  
'Ισθμῷ δ' ἐν ζαθέα τρις ἐπισχερὸν οὐδ' ἐγένοντο  
ἀκτίνων τομίδων ποταβμοί  
καὶ Νεμέα τρις ἐνίκηρεν, κτέ.

In v. 2 Bergk—rightly, I believe—reads ποτὶ for ποτε. It is with v. 6 that I propose to deal. Jacobs, VI. p. 249, calls it 'corruptissimus': 'immaniter corrupta' the words are to Dübner, II. p. 462. The conjectures (which may be seen in Bergk) proceed on the assumption that Jacobs' ποττομέδοντος is correct. It is ingenious; but, according to my experience of texts, the probability that a copyist finding for instance ΑΚΤΗΠΟΝΤΟΜΕΔΟΝΤΟC-ΑΘΛΑ would write (with no meaning) ΑΚΤΙΝΩΝΤΟΜΙΔΩΝΠΟΤΑΘΜΟΙ is too remote to be considered. And besides this, as violent alterations are made of οὐδ' ἐγένοντο.

I do not change ἐγένοντο ἀκτίνων τομίδων—or rather, in place of ἀκτίνων, which was the ordinary form of the adjective,<sup>1</sup> I merely write ἀκτείνων. That is 'of elder,' the wood from which the ἀκόντιον thrown at the games was made: Bacchyl. viii. 33 καὶ μελαμφύλλον κλάδον ἀκτέας ἐς αἰπεινὰν προπέμπων αἰθέρ' ἐκ χειρὸς βοᾶν ὤτρυνε λαῶν in the pentathlum at Nemea. Hesych. 'Ακτέα: δόρατα (δοράτιον). κάμαξ. 'Ικτέα ἀκόντιον. Bekk. *Anecd.* 373, 18 'Ακταινῶσαι: ... ἔστι δένδρον ὃ καλεῖται

ἀκτῆ, ἀφ' οὗ τὰ ἀκόντια τέμνεται. We begin to see that τομίδων (or τομάδων) is sound. ἀποτομάς, in fact, was a technical term for the javelin thrown in the pentathlum: Hesych. 'Αποτομάδα: σχίζαν, καὶ ἀκόντιον πεντάθλου. Pollux iii. 151 καὶ τὸ ἀκόντιον τῶν πεντάθλων καλεῖται ἀποτομάς (v.l. ἀποτομή). x. 64 among the furniture of the gymnasium are δίσκοι καὶ ἀποτομάδες. Hesych. has also 'Αγκύλη: ἀκόντιον. ἡ.... δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἀποτομάδα. Phryn. Bekk. *An.* 29, 21 'Απὸ τόμου: οἶον τὰ ἀκόντια should be perhaps ἀπότομα. The *Et. Mag.* gives the following explanation of 'Αποτομή: ἀκόντιον μικρόν, ἀποτεμνημένον ἀπὸ τοῦ τελείου, καὶ συνηρμοσμένον εἰς μέγεθος μικρόν. Whatever may have been the origin of the word, it is plain that Simonides is speaking of a javelin-contest. What then is the reading? It looks as though it were

'Ισθμῷ δ' ἐν ζαθέα τρις ἐπισχερὸν, οὗ τ' ἐγένοντο  
ἀκτείνων τομίδων ποτ' ἀθλοι

'where contests once took place in darts of elder'; but why 'once'? and why is that contest mentioned by itself? The answer is contained in the first Isthmian of Pindar. He is speaking of the achievements of Castor and Iolaus in the Isthmian games: λάμπει δὲ σαφὲς ἀρετὰ ἐν τε γυμνοῖσι σταδίοις σφίσιν ἐν τ' ἀσπιδοδοῦσι οὐλίταις δρόμοις, οἳ τε χερσίν, ἀκοντίζοντες αἰχμαῖς, καὶ λιθίνους ὑπότ' ἐν δίσκοις ἱέν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν πεντάθλιον, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ ἔργματι κείτο τέλος. There was no pentathlum in those days; the prizes were given for the separate events. The schol. (p. 519 Boeckh) is acquainted with particulars: συλλαπτικῶ δὲ κέχρηται τῷ σχήματι ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἐπὶ Πελία ἀγωνί ὁ 'Ιόλαος τὸν οὐλίτην νικᾷ, ὃν κοινὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἔθηκεν ὁ δὲ Κάστωρ τὰ δευτερεῖα ἔλαβε διακείμεν καὶ ἀκοντίζων, καὶ τοῦτο κοινὸν ἔταξε. τὸ δὲ οἷα θανμαστικῶς ὅποια γὰρ ἴσαν ἀκοντίζοντες τὰ δόρατα, ἃ ἀποτομάδας καλοῦσι, παρόσον οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τοῖς νικῶσιν ἀκοντῖω τοσοῦτον ἀπετέμνοντο τῆς γῆς ἔπαθλον ὅσον ὁ νικηφόρος ἥδυνάτο βαλεῖν. That is yet another explanation of the word.

The reason Simonides mentioned this historic detail was not, perhaps, merely to eke out a verse. Besides the victories named in the first half (which I have quoted) of the epigram, Nicoladas had won a large number of prizes at less famous meetings. These are all mentioned afterwards in the briefest manner; but on those greater contests the poet seeks to throw more stress, and the allusion to the antiquity of the Isthmian games is a reminder of their long prestige. At any rate, the

<sup>1</sup> Lobeck *Parall.* p. 337, 'vulgo autem ἀκτῆ... cui tonosi convenit adjectivum ἀκτινος, quod ἀκτείνος scribendum erat ut ἱκτέινος, πελτέινος, si ab ἀκτέα sive ἀκτῇ duceretur; quanquam λευκίνος apud Hesychium legitur s. μασχαλῶν et saepius κράνινος v. Tzschuck. ad Strab. xii. 197, pro λευκίνος, κραινίνος.' See also Phryn. p. 262. In the *Thesaurus* I have failed to find the adjective.

space devoted to these main achievements serves to enlarge them in the foreground; and the description added here is at least as relevant as one in No. 157:

'Αρτέμιδος τόδ' ἄγαλμα—δικόσαι γὰρ ὁ μισθός  
δραχμαὶ τὰ Πάριαι, τῶν ἐπίσημα τράγος—

p. 502 Simonid. 159:

Ἐρμῆν τόνδ' ἀνέθη Δημήτριος Ὀρθιάδων κεν  
ἐν προθύροις.

Most of the examples of divided names may be found in the references given (*Journ. Philol.* xxvi. p. 93) to Hephaestion; who also quotes a pentameter of Callimachus with Διοσκουρίδew (*fr.* 192). Νικο-μήδης may be added from Kaibel *Epigr.* p. 531, and Mr. Platt supplies me with a luculent example in *Helio nam gabalus* from a poet ap. Pompeium, p. 474 as corrected by Quicherat. Bergk. ii. p. 282 quotes an inscription with another apology like that of Critias, which I may cap from one of our own poetesses, in case there should be anyone to whom Marjory Fleming is a stranger:

'His nose's cast is of the Roman,  
He is a very pretty woman.  
I could not get a rhyme for Roman,  
So was obliged to call him woman.'

And yet again:

'He was killed by a cannon splinter  
Quite in the middle of the winter;  
Perhaps it was not at that time,  
But I can get no other rhyme.'

p. 507 Simonid. 174 is mentioned as among his epigrams; the presumption therefore is that it was in elegiac metre:

δοιδῆς  
Φοῖβος (ἔθ') ἀγείται<sup>1</sup> Τυνδαρίδῃσι(ν) ~  
ἄν ἄμετροι τέττιγες ἐπεστέψαντο χορωνῶ.

p. 552 Corinna 34 schol. *Ar. Ach.* 720  
ὄθεν καὶ ἡ Κόριννα ἐπὶ τοῦ Πινδάρου 'ἄττικιστί' for ἐστὶ.

p. 591 Melanippid. (*Ath.* 429b) 4. 3 τάχα  
δ' ἢ τάχα for τάχα δὴ τάχα, if Bergk is right in reading τοὶ μὲν ἀπ' ὧν ὁλοντο.

p. 644 *Scolion* 5: *Ar. Thesm.* 978-81.

<sup>1</sup> Apollo (*Μουσαγέτας*) is leader of song, as Dionysus of revels, Pan of hunting; ἐν δὲ μέσαι Ἀπόλλων ἀγείτο παντοίων νόμων *Pind. N. v.* 23, Φοῖβος ἀγῆτωρ μέλειω *Eur. Med.* 425. Hence I think may be emended *Aesch. Theb.* 131 καὶ σὺ, Λόκει' ἀναξ, Λόκειος γενοῦ στρατῷ δαίφ, στόνων ἀγέτας (for *vv. ll.* αὐτᾶς, αἰράς) 'show thyself to the foe Destroyer, and Leader—of lamentations.' Cf. *Rhes.* 227.

p. 655. 1:

\*Ἀρτεμι, σοί με τι φρήν <γὰρ> ἐφίμερον  
ὅ μιν ἐν

Cf. *Alcaeus* 5 χαῖρε Κυλλάνας ὃ μέδεις, σὲ γάρ μοι θῆμος ἔμνην. *Hor. C. i.* 11. 1 *Mercuri—nam te...* p. 401 Orelli—Hirschfelder. The dactylic metre and the dialect suggest that this fragment is from *Aleman*; compare, for instance, fragments 45-47. He uses, of course, this form of the infinitive, *fr.* 1. 3, 23. 43. τι ἐφίμερόν as ἀβρόν τι *Bacchyl. fr.* 15, τι κλεινόν *xviii.* 9.

p. 660 *Carm. Pop.* 15:

βαλβίδι πέλας θέτε πόδα παρ πόδα

for βαλβίδα ποδὸς θέτε or βαλβίδα πόδας θέντες, with a resolved anapaest θέτε πόδα as in *Ar. Thesm.* 668 δράσας ἀνόσια = 707 πρὸς ταῦτά τις ὅτε. *Tyrtaeus* 11. 31 has καὶ πόδα παρ ποδὶ θεῖς, but the plural is necessary here.—Anapaestic dimeters are given to a herald in *Ar. Vesp.* 752; and, being appropriate to formal proclamations, were commonly spoken in Comedy by servants or others making announcements—of dinner, for example: *Ar. Thesm.* 39 *sgg.*, *Anaxandrid. fr.* 41, *Mnesimach. II.* p. 437 Kock.

p. 673 *Carm. Pop.* 44: in v. 3 πόλεσιν, I think, should be πολίεσιν or πόλεσσιν. In v. 2 Bergk's former conjecture is right, ὁμλεῖν.

p. 701 *adesp.* 43 B Ἐνετίδας πώλο[υ]ς στεφαναφόρο[υ]ς, for the metre is dactylic.

p. 719 *adesp.* 90. 4:

ἄσκος δ' οὔτε τις ἀμφ(ι)ορεὺς ἐλύν' ἐν δόμοις,  
πέλλαι λίθιναι τε πίθοι πλήσθεν δ' ἅπαντες.

p. 720 *adesp.* 97:

ὥς ἄρ' εἰπόντα μιν ἀμβροσίον  
τηλανγὲς ἐλασίππου πρόσσωπον  
ἀπέλιπεν ἀμέρας.

Is not that, with its prodigality of superfluous epithet, the very manner of *Bacchylides*?

p. 728 *adesp.* 126: τουτὶ δεινὸν or δεινῶν looks like a compound in —διγής: e.g.

(δονείρων) δέσποτα Πλούτων μελανοπτέρυγ'  
ἀντυγιδινῶν

λιπαροπτερύγων αὐτοποιήτων (*Anth. Append.* ii. 607 *Cougny* Ἄιδης ᾧ σκοτιάς ἀμφέβαλε πτέρυγας) or πυκιδινῶν (πυκνὰ δινεύντες πτερὰ *Sappho*). This would be of course from Comedy.

The following does not appear to have been recognised for a quotation: *Plut. de fort. Rom.* 4, p. 318 Ε τῆς δὲ Τύχης ὀξύ μὲν τὸ κίνημα...φθάνουσα δὲ τὴν Ἀρετὴν ἐγγύς ἐστιν,



οὐ 'πτεροῖς ἐλαφρίζονσα κούφοις' ἐαντήν, οὐδ'  
'ἀκρόνυχον ὑπὲρ σφαίρας' τυνὸς 'ἵχνος καθέστα.'

PINDAR, ed. Bergk (with Christ, 1896).

O. xiv. 20 merely requires the words to be transposed :

μελαντειχία νῦν ἴθι  
Φερσεφόνας δόμον, Ἀχοῖ,

P. v. 9 :

ἔκατι χρυσαρμάτων Κάστορος,  
εὐδίαν' ὅς μετὰ χειμέριον ὄμβρον τεῶν  
καταιθύσσει μάκαιραν ἐστίαν.

εὐδιαν is adverbial, as A.P. x. 14 εὐδια μὲν πόντος πορφύρεται, 16, 8 γαλήνης εὐδια πεπταμένης, and many words describing weather, as οὐρια θεῖτε Ar. Lys. 550, καὶ ξυννέφεα καὶ χειμέρια βροντᾶ μάλ' αὖ fr. Ἀναγ. In Soph. O.C. 1446 ἐπτήξα θυμόν, οὐρανία γὰρ ἀστραπή φλέγει πάνιν I think Erfurdt was right in reading οὐρανία (which has escaped Prof. Jebb). I had made the same conjecture. Eur. Tro. 521 has ἵππον οὐράνια βρέμοντα.

N. viii. 46 Herwerden, I see, has anticipated me in reading

σεῦ δὲ πάτερ Χαριάδαις τε λευρὸν  
ὑπερείσαι λίθον Μοισαίων

for λάβρον with the common variant λαῦρον: yet λάβρον is retained by Christ. It can hardly be defended by O. ix. 20 ἐγὼ δέ τοι φίλαν πόλιν μαλεραῖς ἐπιφλέγων ἀοιδαῖς, for μαλερών is an epithet of fire, but λάβρος is not a quality of stone, nor can it be a 'limiting' epithet to mark the metaphorical application to a monument of song. λαβράκταις in Pratinas is suitable of course to dithyrambic poets.

fr. 168, p. 438, Ath. 411 ὁ διὰ βοῶν θερμὰ δ' εἰς (v.l. θερμὰ εἰς) ἀνθρακίαν στέφαν πυρὶ δ' ὑπνόνων (v.l. πυριπνόνων) τε σώματα καὶ τότ' ἐγὼ σαρκῶν τ' ἐνοπὰν ἡδ' ὀστέων στεναγμὸν βαρὺν ἦν ἰδόντα διακρίναι πολλὸς ἐν καιρῷ χρόνος.

Two things at any rate can be restored here: first πυρὶ δ' ὑπνόνων τε and πυριπνόνων τε are corruptions of πυρὶ ἱπνόνων τε, that is, *baked*. This verb is recorded by Stephanus, s.v. Ἰπνώ, apparently as mentioned by Eustathius: 'Ex Aristoph. [Eq. 924], Eust. [p. 16, 40] citat. Ἰπνόμενος ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς, exponens βλαπτόμενος. Ἰπνώ, In furno s. camino uro, In furnum s. caminum conjicio.' But it is not mentioned by Eustathius in that place, and the editors insert '[Et alio loco:] Ἰπνώ,' etc. Since,

however, ἱπνούμενος is a common error for ἱπνόμενος, it would seem to have been in use. The form ἱπνέω is found in Hesychius, where it has suffered exactly the same corruption as one in Athenaeus: Ἐκοδομεῖτο: ἐφρύγετο. ὑπνέετο (ἱπνέετο Musurus). Lexiphanes in Lucian ii. 331 speaks of οἷν ὄλον ἱπνοκαῆ.

The way is clear now for a second emendation—a very easy one—of ἐγὼ τοι ἐσω, 'inside the oven.' Heracles is listening to the crackling and hissing of the bones and flesh inside, to judge by the sound how soon the meat is cooked, μονονουχὶ ἐγκαλῶν τῷ πυρὶ ὡς βραδεῖ in his impatience, as Philostratus says in the passage adduced by Bergk. It is plain, I think, that ἰδόντα will not do: αἰόντα seems to be required. Boeckh's conjecture δοῖα for διὰ is supported by the passage of Philostratus (τὸν ἕτερον τῶν βοῶν); possibly θερμὰ δ' is an error for δέρματ': Bergk thought there was no doubt something had been lost. The rest runs easily in the appropriate Dorian rhythm:

— — — — — ἐς ἀνθρακίαν στέφαν πυρὶ  
ἱπνόν τε σώματα: καὶ τότ' ἐσω  
σαρκῶν τ' ἐνοπὰν ἡδ' ὀστέων  
βαρὺν ἦν αἰόντα διακρίναι στεναγμὸν  
πολλὸς ἐν καιρῷ χρόνος.

fr. 203: Perhaps

νεκρὸν ἵππον στυγέουσιν λόγῳ κτάμενον ἐν φάει,  
κρυφὰ δὲ σκοτίοις γένουσιν ἀνδρόεσιν  
πόδας ἡδὲ κεφαλὰς.

(or σκοτίαις) for v.l. σκολιοῖς or σκολιοῖς.

fr. 246, p. 460 διήγεται σάρκες ἀντὶ τοῦ διήγονται: v.l. διοίγετο δὲ σάρκες ἀντὶ τοῦ διοίγοντο. Probably διοίσεται σάρκες ἀντὶ τοῦ διοίσονται. This use of διαφέρειν instead of διαφορεῖν in the sense διασπαράσσειν is poetical: Eur. Bacch. 743 πάντ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω διέφερον. Herodas vii. 90 τὰς μνῆας ὅκως σοι μὴ αἰ γαλαὶ διοίσουσιν.

fr. 292, p. 470 Add Psellus Mirabil. p. 148, Westermann: ἀλλ' ἀγαπῶν ἄν εἰ καὶ τὰ νέρθεν εἰδέην τῆς γῆς. καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐσπούδακα ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἀπωσάμην, ἀλλὰ... which is a further illustration of Herodas iv. 73.

BACCHYLIDES, ed. Blass, 1898.

Metrical matters I propose to treat in another article.

p. 21, v. 7:

μαλὰ γὰρ δαρὸν τέρομαι  
φρένας ἀμ]φάκει διὰ  
γῆραι καὶ π]ενία.

γήραι καὶ πενία (Blass) has every sign of truth: *A.P.* vii. 336 γήραι καὶ πενίη τετρα-  
μένος, vi. 228 γήρα τετραμένον. τείρομαι is the  
proper word with both, τεϊρόμενος πενίη  
Theognis 181, 684, 752, γήραι Hom. ω 233,  
E 153, Δ 315, cf. O 61, η 218, and suits the  
metaphor of a wound, cf. Herodes (*Paroem.*  
II. 344) γήρας καὶ πενίη, δύο τραύματα δυσθερά-  
πευτα.

τείρομαι, the usual form, is merely a  
lengthening, as δείρω of δέρω (Blass), πειραίνω  
of περαίνω: cf. Lobeck *Rhem.* p. 132.

p. 21 *fin.* :

οἰκωφ[ελ...

p. 25 :

ἐκ τᾶς μὲν γένος  
ἔπλετο καρτερόχειρ  
Ἀργείος.....λέοντος  
θυμὸν[ν ἔχων] ὅποτε  
χρεῖ.....Βολοὶ μάχας,  
πασσὶν τ' ἐλαφρός,...

Prof. Blass now prefers to write χρεῖός ἐ  
κερβόλλοι μάχας, and says 'Now if this re-  
stitution is substantially correct, the ὅποτε  
with optative must express what used to be  
in the past, and refers, of course, to the  
lion, not to the living victor. It is evident  
therefore that a particular lion is meant.'<sup>1</sup>  
I find it difficult to accept this view. The  
optative appears to me to refer quite  
naturally to Ἀργείος, the mood being  
dictated by the preceding past tense ἔπλετο.  
And it is certainly much more natural that  
λέοντος θυμὸν ἔχων should be merely θυμολέων,  
*Coeur-de-lion*, a purely general phrase. Cf.  
Galen (quoted by Bergk ii. p. 20) οἷον καὶ  
ὅταν εἴπῃ Τυρταῖον λέγοντα 'αἰθωνος δὲ λέοντος  
ἔχων ἐν στήθεσι θυμὸν' ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἔχει ὁ λέων  
θυμὸν ἀκριβῶς ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ πρὶν  
ἀκοῦσαι Τυρταῖον γινώσκοντες....Τυρταῖος δέ γε,  
καθάπερ οὖν καὶ Ὅμηρος καὶ Ἡσίοδος [*Theog.*  
833 λέοντος ἀναιδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντος] καὶ ἅπλως  
εἰπεῖν ἅπαντες οἱ ποιηταὶ σφοδρότατον ἔχειν  
φασὶ τοὺς λέοντας τὸν θυμὸν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν  
ἄνθρωπον ὅστις ἂν ᾗ θυμοειδέστατος εἰκάζουσι  
λέοντι. Eur. *H.F.* 1198, Bergk on Simonid.  
110 p. 465. Not having seen the MS., I do  
not know whether there is any trace to help  
in completing the line: ἔσω τε or ἔσωθε (Aesch.  
*Cho.* 829 Περσέως ἐν φρεσὶν καρδίαν σχεθών)  
would be natural, but the sound is un-  
pleasant: I had thought of ὁμᾶ τε or ὀρειο-  
λέοντος like ἀλκιάετος, μονόλυκος al.

p. 33, v. 22: The reading of Blass and  
Crusius :

θεὸν θεόν τις  
ἀγλαίζετω, ὃ γὰρ ἄριστος ὄλβων

accounts for the MS. (which gives ἀγλαΐζεθω  
by crasis) and makes an entirely natural  
sentence. ὃ γὰρ ἄριστος ὄλβων is like iii. 52  
ἐχθιστος φόνων, 83 τοῦτο γὰρ κερδέων ὑπέρτα-  
τον, ix. 47 τὸ μὲν κάλλιστον ἐσθλῶν: and  
there is a still closer parallel in Eur. *fr.* 137  
τῶν γὰρ πλοῦτων ὅδ' ἄριστος, γενναῖον λέχος  
εὐρεῖν.

θεὸν θεόν τις is confirmed by the use of  
θεὸς θεός as a formula, see Bergk *P.L.G.* iii.  
p. 562, and compare Eur. *H.F.* 764, *Andr.*  
1004, Aesch. *Theb.* 553.

p. 37, v. 68: φθόνῳ παίνεται: Pindar. *N.*  
viii. 21: ὄψον δὲ λόγοι φθονεροῖσι. *Fragm.*  
*adesp.* (Stob. *Flor.* 38, 6) εἰσὶν τινες νῦν οὓς τὸ  
βασκαίνειν τρέφει.

p. 41, v. 11:

....ν ἄμφ' ἰσόρ-  
ροπον.....Δί[κ]ας τάλαντον.

p. 51, v. 100: πολίων τ' αἰγῶν...καὶ βοῶν  
φοινικονώτων is plausible in Bacchylides,  
whose fondness for colour is so marked.

v. 100: Themistius p. 168 B has the  
adverb κατάντην in a poetical description of  
an aqueduct.

v. 112: προθύμως καὶ ἀκαμάτως 'indefati-  
gably' seems to cover all uses of ἐνδουκέως.

p. 57, v. 187: ἀλαθείας χάριν: Aesch. *Ag.*  
383 ἀθίκτων χάρις (1355 quoted by Trypho as  
τῆς Μελλοῦς χάριν), Eur. *Med.* 437 βέβακε δ'  
ὄρκων χάρις.

p. 59, v. 191: cf. Soph. *fr.* 226, Eur. *H.F.*  
1325, *θεοτίμητος*.—Theognis 17 is borrowed  
apparently from Hesiod.

v. 193: κείνῳ is not incorrect; but τοῦτω  
(Housman) ὃν ἂν...contrary to our expression  
is the normal use in Greek,<sup>2</sup> e.g. Pind. *P.* x.  
23 and a fragment in Bergk iii. p. 735:  
Plat. *Gorg.* 450 B εἴπερ ταύτην ῥητορικὴν  
καλεῖς ἢ ἂν ᾗ περὶ λόγους 'if you give the  
name of rhetoric to that which.' 'The man  
that would make a pun would pick a pocket'  
would be in Greek ὅστις παρονομαζίνδα παίζων  
ᾗδεται, βαλλαντισιομεῖν τοῦτον ἂν νόμιζέ μοι.  
It is strange this should not have been  
realized by Cobet: *Coll. Crit.* p. 49 'In  
*Menon.* p. 92 C haereo in verbis πῶς οὖν ἂν...  
εἰδείης περὶ τοῦτου τοῦ πράγματος...οὐ παντά-  
πασιν ἄπειρος εἴης. He requires εἰ, or if εἴης  
is sound, περὶ ὁποῦν πράγματος because in  
that case 'sententia est generalis.'

p. 67, v. 22: So ἐμπληκτοὶ βροτῶν Soph.  
*Aj.* 1358, φαῦλοι βροτῶν Agathon *fr.* 7.

v. 28: cf. Sappho *fr.* 3.

p. 69 vv. 14, 16. There are two examples  
here of a rhetorical artifice in lyric which

<sup>2</sup> Hence in Eur. *fr.* 183 (Plat. *Gorg.* 484 x) the  
right reading is τοῦτω...τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει βέλ-  
τιστος ἂν.

<sup>1</sup> *Hermathena*, xxv. p. 357.

is worth remark, deferring the introduction of a name until a description has preceded. It may be seen in Pind. *P.* iv. 2, viii. 42, *N.* v. 13, *I.* ii. 22 and Aesch. *Supp.* 549, and was not unknown to the Alexandrians, Hermesianax (Ath. 597b), vv. 8, 15, 51, 60, 67, 71, 76, 90, 97. The object was to avoid the monotony of simple narrative; and the effect of it in keeping interest alert may be illustrated by an elaborate example in Macaulay's account of Warren Hastings' trial.

p. 69, v. 46: ἐγγόνων (the genitive has been rightly restored) is correct according to the distinction made by the grammarians between ἔγγονος and ἔκγονος (Bachmann on *Lycophr.* 431); but it is habitually an error.

'Thy descendants' says Bacchylides to the Asopos 'have made themselves known to the daughters of Ares<sup>1</sup> who dwell by Thermodon, and to the towers of Troy.' Who are the descendants meant? 'Telamon, Ajax, Achilles' says Prof. Blass. The Amazons had certainly reason to become acquainted with those heroes, for they fought against them in defence of Troy, and their queen was slain there by Achilles: and no doubt they would carry their impressions back with them to their distant home. But they had no need to go to Troy, for the acquaintance came to them: Sinope, the daughter of Asopos (Apoll. Rhod. ii. 946 schol.), was received in her wanderings by Thermodon, and established at their very doors (Dionys. Perieg. 773 Eustath.).

v. 52 Cf. Pind. *I.* vii. 19-23.—v. 56 Ζηρὸς ἄ (Herwerden) πλαθεῖσα λέχεια is an improvement.

p. 75, v. 9: καὶ νῦν κασιγνήτας ἀκοίτας νασιώτων κείνηκεν λιγύφθογον μέλισσαν for ἐκείνησεν restores the metre. They are prone to write the aorist for the perfect; and this might happen here through the omission of the first syllable in <κε> κείνηκεν.

p. 77, v. 26:

'Ισθμιογίκαν  
δῖς νιν ἀγκάρυξαν εὐβοῦ-  
λων.....ων προφάται.

If there is not space for either of Mr. Platt's conjectures ἀεθάρχων or ἀγωνάρχων, there might be room for δαιατῶν.

p. 79, v. 35 sqq.: In v. 42 Prof. Blass has made the admirable correction ἔτερος δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι ποικίλον τόξον τιτάνει. It is a pleasure to be able to contribute signal confirmation of the reading. The whole of this passage is merely a paraphrase in brief of Solon 13.

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. Perieg. 654 sqq. with Eustath., Quint. i. 55, 461, 560, Justin. ii. 4.

33 sqq. p. 43 Bergk which contains the original of every detail here. To regard this, however, as plagiarism in our sense, with its implied reproach, would be quite to misconceive the Greek attitude towards art, including literature in general and lyric in particular. The art of the lyric poet—Pindar often prides himself upon his skill in it—was largely shown in his power of treating with brief touches matter familiar, and assumed to be familiar, to the audience.

Euripides uses πάτωρ (restored by Dindorf for πατήρ) in a passage to the same effect, *fr.* 659:

ἔρωτες ἡμῖν εἰσὶ παντοῖοι βίον  
ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐγένειαν ἱεῖρει λαβεῖν,  
τῷ δ' οὐχὶ τοῦτον φροντίς, ἀλλὰ χρημάτων  
πολλῶν κεκληθῆναι βούλεται πάτωρ δόμοις.

And so on. Perhaps he would hardly have used the word in dialogue unless he had counted upon his audience recalling the passage of Bacchylides.

The particular application of σοφία is well seen already (besides Solon 13. 52) in Theognis 770, 790, 942, 995, Pigres Bergk ii. 238. In v. 40 ἐλπίδι χρυσέα suggests 'hope of gold' like ἀργυρέη πειθῶ in Anacr. *fr.* 33.

p. 89, v. 104: The sudden break into direct quotation is found in Hom. Δ 303, O 348, Ψ 855. The second of these is the subject of admiring criticism by Longin. *περὶ ὕψους* 27, who quotes another example of the device from Hecataeus; to which may be added Sappho 1. 18, Pind. *I.* viii. 35 sqq., Aesch. *Theb.* 634. This should modify criticism of the Homeric passages.

p. 91, xi. 6: Prof. Jebb's ἀπαιτεῖ (constructed with an infinitive as in Eur. *Supp.* 586) is a most attractive conjecture. 'Requires me' is the sense we want, and the compound is appropriate to the case. Pindar habitually speaks of his ode as a χρῆος, a task he has been commissioned to fulfil; and it is perhaps with this notion that in *P.* iv. 67 he says ἀπὸ δ' αὐτὸν ἐγὼ Μούσαισι δῶσω καὶ τὸ πάγχρυσον νόκος κριοῦ, those themes having been the instructions in his brief. So in *I.* viii. 5 αἰτέομαι χρυσέαν καλέσαι Μοῖσαν. Hor. *C.* i. 32. 1 (Orelli-Hirschfelder) *Poscimur*.

p. 97, v. 83: cf. Pind. *P.* ii. 18.

p. 99, v. 103:

ὑπέρθυμον βοα[τὰν  
Αἶαντα σακεσφόρον ἦρω.

In spite of the Homeric passages adduced by Blass (*M* 277, *O* 687), it is tempting to think that Bacchylides used a more natural

epithet of Ajax, *ὑπέρθυμον βιατάν*. Pind. *I.* vii. 58 has *Μέμονος βίαν ὑπέρθυμον*.<sup>1</sup>

p. 105, v. 162:

*εἰλα]πίνας τ' ἐν  
καὶ ἰ χό]ρ[ο]ις ἔξεν θεόδματον πόλιν.*

*χόροι* are the natural accompaniments of peace and joy, *Ar. Pax* 976, *Eur. H.F.* 755, *Hes. Scut.* 272–285 after *Hom. Σ* 491 *sqq.* *ἐν καὶ* is used thus by Pind. *O.* ii. 28, vii. 26, *P.* x. 58, *N.* vii. 31. There is no means of saying whether *εἰλα]πίνας* should be *εἰλα]πίναις*, or whether *νας* in 161 is the remnant of *ἀφ]νεάς*.

p. 109, v. 202: *A.P.* xvi. 84, Bergk iii. p. 517.

p. 109, v. 228: *εἴ γε* ('that is, if') was restored for *εἰ δέ* in Pind. *O.* ii. 62 by Boeckh.

p. 111, xiii. 8: I do not remember whether it has been proposed, but the right supplement here would seem to be

*μία δ' ἐς κοινὸν προκεῖται,  
εἰ τὸ πᾶρ χειρὸς κυβερνᾷ—  
ταὶ δικαίαισι φρένεςσιν*

or *κυβερνᾷ τις*. Cf. *fr.* 11, p. 156, Pind. *N.* vii. 14, *I.* v. 12, and such common phrases as *μίαν* or *μόνην ταύτην ἔχοντες σωτηρίαν εἰ* or *ἦν...*

p. 115: The title *Διθύραμβοι* is illustrated by *Plut. de mus.* 10, p. 1134 E *περὶ δε Ξενοκρίτου...ἀμφισβητεῖται εἰ παιάνων ποιητὴς γέγονεν ἢ ῥωϊκῶν γὰρ ὑποθέσεων πράγματα ἔχουσιν ποιητὴν γεγονέναι φασὶν αὐτόν διὸ καὶ τινες διθυράμβους καλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὰς ὑποθέσεις*.<sup>2</sup> The term is applied to such heroic themes by *Ath.* 402a, *Hephaest.* 22 (*Praxilla*).

p. 117, v. 56: *ὀλβίων παιῖδες* as *Hom. Z* 127, *Dionys. Perieg.* 600.

p. 119 *ὅπῃ ἀδεία*: *Sappho* is recorded to have used *Μῆδεῖα* (sic): *fr.* 162, p. 138 Bergk.

p. 123: I believe with Prof. Jebb that *πολεμαίγιδος* is right. *Athena* is eminently a war-goddess, *πολεμαδόκος*, *πολεμόκλονος*: cf. *Ebeling, Lex. Hom.* p. 37a, schol. *Aesch. Theb.* 254. For the accent see Bergk, *Pindar*, p. 136.

This rather loose kind of compound they called 'dithyrambic,' *Demetr. de eloc.* 91 (Bergk, *PLG* iii. p. 729); *ἀρέταιχμος* in *Bacchyl.* is another example (*Pindar* has *ἱππαιχμος*), and *ἐγχεικέραννος* in *Pind.* (= *κεραυνεγχής* in *Bacchyl.*).

v. 23: Palaeographically *μεγάλογκον*

<sup>1</sup> Compare however the remarkable expression in *Pind. N.* ii. 14 *ἐν Τροίᾳ μὲν Ἐκτωρ Ἀλάντος ἤκουσεν*.

<sup>2</sup> I see now this has already been adduced by Prof. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf.

would be an easy reading: but *μεγάλαυχον* is supported by Pind. *I.* viii. 15.

p. 125, v. 38: *κατεῖλμα* would make the metre normal. *κάλυμμα* was the common word, and used therefore in explanation, of *εἶλμα* for instance. *Hesych.* gives *κατεῖλπται: κεκάλυπται*.

p. 125, v. 43: Prof. Herwerden's *ιδεῖν φάος ἔτ', εἴ τιν'* improves both sense and rhythm.

p. 133, v. 18: *Sappho* 12 *ὅττινας γὰρ εὖ θέω, 36 οὐκ οἶδ' ὅττι θέω, 62 τί κε θέμεν*:

p. 137:

*ἢ μῶνον σὺν ὁπάοσιν  
στείχεν ἔμπορον οἷ' ἀλάταν.*

M. Weil supports his emendation by *Eur. Hec.* 1126 *μόνον σὺν τέκνοισι*. Add *El.* 627 *πόσων μετ' ἀνδρῶν; ἢ μόνος δμῶν μετὰ; Achill. Tat.* ii. 10 *ἢ γὰρ μήτηρ τῆς κόρης, ὡς οἶσθα, μαλακίζεται, καὶ καθ' αὐτὴν ἀναπαύεται: μόνη δ' ἢ παῖς βαδιεῖται κατὰ τὰ εἰθισμένα, τῆς Κλειοῦς ἐπομένης*. Children or attendants do not count as persons.

*στείχεν* is practically the invariable spelling of *MSS.*

p. 141, v. 15: I think Mr. Housman's *εἴ τιν'* is the truth.

p. 145: The story as told by *Apollodorus* was the version of *Simonides* (*fr.* 216), schol. *Hom. I.* 557.

p. 149, v. 7: *Z]ηνὸς ἐν κ[ά]ψῳ* or *κάποις* cf. *Pind. P.* iv. 54 of *Libya*, metaphorically *Soph. fr.* 297. *Hesych.* *Κάποις: κήποις*.

v. 2: The phrase *μεμελημ[έ]νον* *Εὐσεβ[ί]α* which I conjectured here I have since found in *Kaibel Ep.* 1068, 13. See his Index, p. 642, *Jacobs, A.P.* VII. p. 34, 411, 458. Lyric, the fountain of ornate and euphuistic language generally, was the parent of these phrases too. So *Pindar O.* vii. 17 has *ἀδόντα Δίκα*.

p. 152, *fr.* 2: *Aesch. Pers.* 294.

p. 154, v. 15: *Blass' ἀφως* is a beautiful emendation: add *A.P.* vii. 726. 1.—v. 17 *Pind. I.* ii. 3.

*fr.* 5 reads like a mild reply to *Pindar's* contemptuous contrast (*O.* ii. 85) of his own original genius (*φύα*) with his rival's mere pupil-craftsmanship (*μάθησις*). Also *fr.* 26, which is in the form of a denial, 'it is not true that,' might be an answer to *Nem.* vii. 23.

p. 158, *fr.* 15: see *Strabo* 411 (Bergk iii. p. 151).

p. 165, *fr.* 31: The only other example of this rhythm is *Pind. O.* x. 3. Not unlike is *P.* x. 4; and *Ar. fr.* 506, 1 (*Ath.* 96c) may be considered a further development.

fr. 32 : ἀβρότῃ ξυνέασιν ἰώνων βασιλῆες. A similar prelude to Ionic *a minore* rhythm will be found in Ar. *Ran.* 326 = 342, and Castorio (iii. p. 634 Bergk) ἐξόχως δ' εὐγενέτας ἡλιόμορφος λαθείς.

p. 168, Ep. 2, 2 ; τῷ πάντων ἀνέμων πρῆτάτῳ Ζεφύρῳ. With πιστάτῳ, the reading of the Anthology and Suidas, Casaubon compared Theoc. x. 47, and one might adduce also Hom. η 119, Theophrast. *de caus. plant.* ii. 3. 1, *Geoponica* i. 11, 6 τὸν δὲ Ζεφύρον σύνεργον εἶναι τῇ γεωργίᾳ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀνέμων, and Plin. *N.H.* xvi. 25, xviii. 34. Winds fatten certainly (Kaibel *Ep.* 1036, 4), but there is no reason why a wind that fattens should himself be fat<sup>1</sup>; and if there

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. *Perieg.* applies the epithet to the rich water of the fattening Nile, 221 ἔθεν πιστάτοιο κατέρχεται ὕδατα Νείλου, 227 ὕδασι πάλιν λιπαρὸν πέδον Αἰγύπτου: but that (as the schol. observes) is a synonym of λιπαρωτάτου, as 824 Μαίανδρος λιπαρῆσι κατέρχεται εἰς ἕλα δίνας, Aesch. *Supp.* 1039, and the

were, the epithet would be pointless here. He was not desired for ripening but for winnowing; and for that purpose you do not seek the fattest but the gentlest: Columella ii. 20 *at ubi paleis immista sunt frumenta, vento separentur: ad eam rem Favonius habetur eximius, qui lenis aequalisque aestivis mensibus perflat.* It was from this that Schneider (quoted by Jacobs in his notes on Bacchylides, *A.P.* VI. p. 290) restored πρῆτάτῳ. This is the established epithet: Dioscorid. *A.P.* xii. 171 ἀνέμων πρῆτάτε Ζεφύρε. Philodem. *A.P.* vi. 349 ἀνέμων πρῆτάτε Ζεφύρε. *A.P.* x. 102, 6 εἰρίτινες πρῆεῖς καὶ βιότον Ζεφύροι. Himer. *Ecl.* xvii. 5 πρᾶναι Ζεφύρος ταῖς αὔραις τὰ κύματα. Otherwise λειοτάτῳ (Meineke) would be correct: Theophrast. *de vent.* 7. 38 ὁ δὲ Ζεφύρος λειοτάτος τῶν ἀνέμων κτέ. W. HEADLAM.

difference will, I think, be felt; Nile-water may have body in it, hardly the unsubstantial Zephyr.

#### NEW HOMERIC PAPYRI.

THE portion of a Commentary on the twenty-first book of the Iliad which Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt publish in their *Oxyrynchus Papyri*, vol. II (Pap. CCXXI) is as interesting a contribution to the Homeric text as has been made for a long time. A first-hand Homeric commentary of the classical period may safely be called unique (a lexicon, such as that of Apollonius, is not a commentary, and no one now believes that the disjointed pages which once formed a preface to the Venetus A have anything to do with Aristonicus), and is bound both to increase our knowledge of the subject and to disturb our ideas of the process of Homeric tradition.

The date of the MS. is, according to its editors of the second century A.D.; the commentary touches Φ 1—363 with gaps. The editors who contribute a judicious introduction and interesting notes, acknowledge their obligations to Dr. Blass, who as the reviewer (having had the privilege of an early copy) can testify, has shown the most remarkable erudition and ingenuity in restoring this difficult grammatical prose.

The important point of authorship turns on the interpretation of the signature ἀμμωνιος ἀμμωνιον γραμματικος ἐσημειωσαμην, which is found in the middle of the roll between two columns of text. The experts give a somewhat uncertain sound on the matter, nor can I offer anything material towards the problem. I will follow, as

everyone must wish to, the example of the editors in assuming Ammonius Ammonii f. to be the author of the commentary. The question follows which of several Ammonii is he? The successor of Aristarchus, the most prominent of them, is debarred by chronology, and uncertain though the matter may be, I have some confidence in plumping for the author of the lexicon *περὶ διαφορᾶς ὀνομάτων*. The matter of this lexicon is largely taken up with Homeric usage, and on the other hand the brief glosses which abound in the commentary suit a lexicographical grammarian. Further, the authors whom both works cite, point to a similar period: as the editors remark, the commentary quotes Dionysius Thrax, Didymus, Aristonicus and Seleucus, but not Herodian or Nicanor; the lexicon quotes, to take names as they come, Aristoxenus, Trypho, Alexion, Didymus, Ptolemy of Ascalon, Lucius Tarraeus, Aristonicus,—evidently the same set; neither brings in Apollonius Dyscolus nor his greater son, even upon points of accentuation. The inference is a fair one that the two Ammonii are the same man, and that his age was about 100 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

If this be correct the lexicographer Am-

<sup>1</sup> I should attribute to this Ammonius the brief and often glossarial notes which are found in the *Odyssey* MS. B.M. Pap. cclxxi. under the name α, and which Prof. Ludwig, I believe, assigns to the successor of Aristarchus.



monius will have written an *ὑπόμνημα*, critical and exegetical, upon Homer. He is a member of the class of *ὑπομνηματισταί*, *ὑπομνηματιστάμενοι*, who are frequently called in by the scholiasts, particularly perhaps by Herodian and in T, and about whom we know little more than their remarkable names—Attalus, Autochthon, Pius, Senacherim, Telephus. An important question is, did Ammonius' *ὑπόμνημα* extend to more than this book? Commentaries on separate books are rare, but one may quote *Ἀρτοκρατίων ὁ Δίου διδάσκαλος ἐν ὑπομνήματι* (ποίημα cod., but the correction is well supported) *τῆς ἱ*, I 453, and the *τετραλογία* of *Νεμεσίω*, K 398, was probably a commentary on four books. A further argument is this: the Geneva scholia, published by M. Nicole from a 13th century MS., rise above mediocrity only in Φ, in which they have several long notes which were peculiar to themselves until the discovery of Ammonius. The same is true to a less extent of the scholia in T and in Par. 2766 and Ven. 459. It is natural to conclude that Ammonius' commentary, and therefore its influence upon tradition, was confined to Φ.

We are naturally led to the most important result of this publication, the effect it has upon the history of Homeric study and the formation of our corpus of scholia. The Homeric scholia fall, it is well known, into those of the Venetian MS. 454 (= A) which were first published by Villoison, acknowledge their sources, in a subscription, to be the four works of Aristonicus, Didymus, Herodian and Nicanor, and have not unnaturally been almost canonized by Lehrs and his disciples. The other scholia were long represented by a 14th century Leipzig MS. and a 16th century transcript which once belonged to Piero Vettori, and suffered from such late representatives. Their reputation was increased by the separate publication of these scholia as they appear in 'B' (Ven. 453) and especially in the form in which they are found in 'T' (Burney 86), the latter at the hands of Dr. E. Maass (1887, 8). The relation between the A and the T scholia has never been worked out in detail: but it is evident to anyone who has read both scholia side by side that all the four stated ingredients of A are present in T, and the fifth, Porphyrius, also; and that the difference between A and T is less one of authority and credit than of expression. Doubtless the balance on the whole is in favour of A. but not so much so that a positive statement made by T is not as authoritative as a contrary one from A.

This excellence of T is only increased by the evidence of Ammonius. The Geneva scholia with their novelties were found to belong to the T group rather than to A, and Ammonius evidently stands on the same side. Of course there are numerous coincidences with A, seeing that Ammonius quotes at least two of A's sources: but anyone who goes into the matter will find the preponderance largely in favour of T; and in particular in certain longer notes: v. 156 on Asteropaeus, not in A, in T but shorter. v. 195 on Achelous, in Gen. but not in A or T. v. 282 on *εἰρχθέντα*; in Gen., not in A or T. v. 363 on *μελδόμενο*, not in A but in T and Gen. On the other hand v. 290–2, the atheteses are alluded to in A and T but are not in Gen. (Gen. however is so chaotic that omissions in it may almost be disregarded.) The full bearing of these data will need time to appreciate, but it may be safely concluded that though T (and Gen.) are dilutions from the same original compilation of which A offers a more complete picture, at some period after their severance from the ancestor of A they must have been fortified by an admixture of Ammonius on Φ.

Whether Gen. and, to a less degree, T used other sources beside Ammonius where they diverge from A, and whether Ammonius' account of the Alexandrian variants is as full as that of Ven. A, are questions hard to answer on account of the fragmentariness of Ammonius. In most places apparent omissions in Amm. are no doubt illusory: thus vv. 111, 127, 195, 282, 331, 363, the sources mentioned in other authorities may have come either before or after the portion of Amm. actually preserved, or they may be worked into the defective framework. On the other hand, on v. 122 Timarchus and Aristotle, quoted by Par. 2766 and Ven. 459 can hardly be introduced into Amm., v. 1 unless the editors' *ἀριστοφάνης ῥόον* be maintained, Aristophanes' reading is not mentioned, and v. 356 Amm. clearly neglected Ptolemy Pindarion.

The positive additions made to our knowledge by Ammonius are exceedingly valuable and interesting. The editors have treated them so adequately that I need only briefly indicate them. They are of three sorts: (1) the longer notes to which I have alluded before. Their novelty, as the editors remark, is somewhat discounted by the publication of Gen., but even where they coincide with Gen. they offer a better text, and the details, as I have noticed, differ in

important particulars. The note on Astero-  
paeus (156) which is not in Gen., the  
athetesis of 290-2 by Seleucus, also not in  
Gen., and the statement from Hermogenes  
about *μελδόμενο* (363), confirming T against  
B, are particularly important. (2) The  
glosses: these take back the so-called  
Scholia minora to an earlier century than  
the Berlin and Paris fragments.<sup>1</sup> (3)  
The readings, either new or additionally  
authenticated; such are v. 122 *ἦσο* in  
lemmate, *κέισο* apparently noticed in the  
note: 213 *εἰδόμενος* and *εἰσάμενος* Aris-  
tarchus *διχῶς* (hitherto merely γρ. καὶ εἰδόμε-  
νος A); 217 *πελάσας* Aristophanes; this  
completes two fragmentary and comple-  
mentary scholia in A and T: 239 *ἐφράσας*  
for *εἰρύσας* in lemmate. 246 in lemmate  
*δεινῆς*—*πιδιονδε* (hitherto only γρ. *πιδιονδε*  
A)—*πέτεσθαι*, with allusions to the alterna-  
tives *λίμνης* and *φέρεσθαι* in the note. 251  
the reading *μελανόσσου* which the editors  
supply in the lemma is not quite certain:  
the quotation would be the only MS. au-  
thority for it. 355 *ῥιπῇ* which we only  
know as *ἐν τισι* in A occurs as *ριπῇ* δε η  
κ[ρητικῇ] if we accept this ingenious sup-  
plement, 515 *οἶος* instead of *φοῖβος* quoted  
col. XI. 34.

On the whole this happy discovery  
appears to me to testify singularly to the  
toughness and indestructibility of tradition.  
As the papyri generally take back our  
vulgate text to prae-Christian centuries,  
and the Ptolemaic papyri confirm ancient  
quotations, Ammonius rehabilitates the ob-  
scure tradition of the scholia; a reading  
such as *πελάσας*, which in our current com-  
mentaries had gained bare mention on the  
strength of 'schol. V,' is caught up to the  
glory of the generation before Aristarchus.

I subjoin some suggestions on the text.

Col. I. v. 2 perhaps τα δέντον[α].

v. 5 Blass's supplement ἐπι[ρρηματι] is  
very probable.

v. 10 καθ[ο] διαβατος η]ν, cf. AD.

v. 18 It is natural with the editors to  
supply *αριστοφάνης ποον*, but a subject is  
required for γρ[α]φει in v. 19, and this it  
seems almost impossible to get out of ]ρην.  
Perhaps therefore we should read ο δε  
πτο[λεμαῖος] αριστο[νικον] (Δ 423), who would  
then become the patron of *ἐύρρηος*, the  
reading of the family h. I can make  
nothing of ]ρην: *ὁμοίως τῷ ἄρην* is not satis-  
factory.

v. 21 read *ευρε]ης* for ]υς.

v. 30 *ευφωνια]ς* χαριν.

v. 31 παρα το ηρ[ακλῆς].

v. 32 *ἰφι[κλῆϊς]*.

v. 33 παρα] δε. There does not seem to  
be any quotation: the writer discusses the  
accentuation of words compounded with  
κλεος.

Col. II. v. 1 φυ]σι[ζωος] (lemma).

v. 2 το φυσι]ζωος [οὐ καλον ἐπι νεκ]ροισ  
α[ιαν δε φυσι]ζωων εκ[αλει, i.e. Γ 243, λ 301.  
It is curious to find *φυσιζωος*, the mediaeval  
vulgate reading, going back so far.

v. 6 Blass's του μετρον χαρ]ιν is probable;  
I can make nothing of what follows, nor  
do the scholia on A 277, Θ 299 suggest  
anything.

Col. III. v. 16 perhaps σιδηρω [παρα] δε  
το αρησ[αρη; cl. T συνεληπται δε ἀπὸ τοῦ  
ἄρηι.

v. 21 sqq. (Φ 122). Ammonius' lemma  
is so far the most substantial authority for  
the variant *ἦσο*, a variant in scholl. AT but  
found as yet in no text. It is of course  
unquestioned in σ 105, υ 262. [της νεωτε]-  
ρας ἰαδος is certain, although references to  
periods of dialects are rare in the scholia.  
Cf. A 589 οὐκ ἔστι της καθ' Ὁμηρον ἰαδος τὸ  
ψιλοῦν τὰ τοιαῦτα, B 339 της γὰρ μεταγενε-  
στέρας Ἀττιδῶς ἡ τοιαῦτε ἀνάγνωσις. For the  
rest of the scholion I offer the following  
attempt: οἶδε δια το[υ] κῆ [sc. κείσο] [γρά-  
φοντες αὐ]το εκ του ενταυθα [πα]ρα]γουσι.  
κρα]της εκ του ενταυθι ωστε την [οι περι]στω-  
μενην γε[γρα]φθ[αι] αἶντι του αν [sc. ενταυθοῖ  
not ενταυθοῖ] οντω]ς δε αττικον φη[σιν] αρι]στον  
[εικος. HCO] διατριβε εαν [ψιλωθ]η εις [την  
ἡ ισθι] μεταφραστε[ιν]. αμειν]ον ]δε φησι η] σο  
αριστονεικ[ος] ως επι]χθυ[σιν]. Cf. T τινες δε  
ψιλοῦσιν. ἰν' ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ ισθι.

v. 31 ΜΕΤΙΧΘ]ΥCIN OI C ΩΤΕΙΛΗ[N  
οὕτως αι κατα πολ]εις, or οὕτως αι εκδοσεις,  
or the like: the variant must have been  
alluded to, cf. οὕτως διὰ τοῦ ὅπασαι A.

Col. IV. v. 15 αριστοφανη]ν δια το [ω  
v. 18 καθαπερ ε]ιπεν εν β οδυσσειας φρασ-  
σοντ]αι οπισθεν ω[ς κε δολω φθι]ης = β 367  
with a variant *οπισθεν* for *οπίσω*.

Col. VI. The first nine lines contain a  
local tradition about the fate of Astero-  
paeus, of which no trace appears to have descended  
to the geographers.

v. 2 *πλη]αδα μελην* !

v. 3 καθ]α ἱππευ εν τω [περι ποταμων,  
the same work as Gen. sites, calling the  
author Hippon, on 195. Astero-  
paeus as grandson of a Thracian river might have  
been treated in such a book; Rhesus,  
another Thracian, might be described as  
his neighbour.

v. 5 perhaps λεγου[σιν] αὐτο[ν] καυ[θηνα]  
και τα οτ]λα.

<sup>1</sup> Schimberg, *Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der Scholia Vulgata genannt Didymi*, 1892, p. 452.

v. 8 τ[ον] ρησον προσψ[ει]ω[μενον].

v. 14 Blass's supplement is very natural.

v. 17 Blass's supplement ε[υριπίδην] is brilliant: the edition is otherwise known from Suidas s.v. and Eustathius on B 865. It is a pity that more letters of the name are not preserved, but the only other Homeric critic whose name begins with ε appears to be Eratosthenes, and we are not told that he edited the text.

v. 18 α[νεγνωσθη] δ[ι]σ[τερο]παίους.

vv. 22, 23 perhaps α[πο]πος γαρ αὐτος α[πο] του δια[σ]μ[ου] οὐ [ἀπώ]ν εἰ[ς].

Col. IX. v. 1 perhaps πασ[ῶν] ὧν κατέλεξ[ε] ἀχελώϊον ἀργυροδίνεω | ἐξ οὗ πασα θαλασσα.

These verses and the letters at the commencement of v. 1 are perhaps by Xenophanes, from whom Gen. on 196 quotes four and a half lines on the same subject. Megacleides previously was known in four mentions in the scholia, all through Porphyrius. It is worth noticing that the line in question here, 195, which Zenodotus and Megacleides excised, and which Pausanias viii. 38. 7 seems to pass over, is actually omitted by at least one MS., Bodleian Misc. 207.

Col. XI. v. 22 I am not sure that the lemma εφρασσο is a blunder, although in a subordinate quotation l. 36 Ammonius gives εφρσσο, the ordinary reading. Cf. the variant φρασσόμενοι Θ 29, I 694 for ἀγασσόμενοι. The lemmata of works of this age, e.g. of Apollonius' lexicon, often contain survivals of real variants, and the same is true of the oldest MS. of the scholia minora. Cf. οἶος in the quotation l. 34 [μελανοσσον], xiii. 23, and ησο iii. 21.

Col. XII. l. 29 sqq. (Φ 246-7). This passage, whether in the lemma or the comment, recognises all the variants on these lines: δίνης λίμνης, πεδίονδ' ἐπίδοιο, πέτεσθαι φέρεσθαι. It is the more exasperating that their authors have perished.

Col. XIII. l. 22 [οὕτως ἀνευ της ν] or the like. 'Ερωή, ἐρωήν is a well-attested variant in mediaeval MSS., recognised by Eustathius.

Col. XIV. l. 2 perhaps το[υ]τον μ[εν]. l. 33, 34 [και τω] αἰνειαν σενεσθαι προσημει[ω]μενο[ν], 'foretold by.' This makes Aristotle disapprove of the λύσις given in T.

Col. XVI. l. 17 perhaps εἰκοτὼς ἐπισκαμάνδρῳ θε[τε]ον ην. l. 20 perhaps ἀριστοτελε[ς] ἐν β[ε] περι[τ]ῳ παρ ὀμηρῳ ἀπορου[ν] μενων, a variation on the usual title of his work, ἀπορήματα ὀμηρικά: cf. also Dionysius ἐν τῷ εἰ των ἀπόρων B 308. Posidonius is quoted by Eustathius. l. 34 [σημειωτεον την] λ[ε]ξιν.

Col. XVII. l. 3 perhaps [προπαροξυνεται] δε NO. CXX. VOL. XIV.

δι[ο]τι τα α[λλα] οσα εις ροσ[σ] ἐξήλθεν: cf. Herodian quoted in the Lex. Hom.

l. 12 [δεσμον α] να[γ]ι, if such abbreviations are possible in papyri, as they are in later MSS.; in l. 32 perhaps με[λ]λον results from such a shortening. l. 17 [του παθη] τι[κ]ου. l. 19 [του υδα]τος. l. 34 perhaps αγν[ο]σησαντος του μεταγραφοντος, as Gen.

In the same volume we find a third century (A.D.) papyrus containing E 1-705, with many gaps in the latter part. The papyrus is thoroughly vulgate, but offers several interesting points. Peculiarities are the omission of vv. 75 and 126, δουρι for χαλκῷ 132, τέτανται for κέχυνται 141, ἀνὰ for κατὰ (κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας) 200. ασ[σ] [χ]ήσεσθαι 285 shows the assimilation which in other places is attributed to Zenodotus. Its most interesting property however is its reading of v. 118 ὅν δέ τε μ' ἀνδρα for the usual δὸς δέ τε μ' ἀνδρα. This lection, attractive from its construction, is defended by schol. A; οὕτως ἐν τισιν ἡρωδιανός, ἡ δὲ γραφή τόν δέ τε μ' ἀνδρα, a scholion too confidently pronounced corrupt by many scholars, including Ludwich. One may grant that οὕτως ἐν τισιν ἡρωδιανός may be a survival of οὕτως ἐν τισιν εὐρεῖν φησιν or εὐρήσθαι φησιν ἡρωδιανός, though I see no real reason against translating 'so Herodian in some of his works,' but ἡ δὲ γραφή is a frequent formula and always signifies the scholiasts' preference.<sup>1</sup> The reading is also quoted by schol. A on O 119, where Dindorf's note 'Librarii errore pro δὸς δέ τε μ' is left in an unfortunate position.

Coincidences with other MSS. are 31 τει<sup>β</sup> χεσιπλήτα, Zenodotus' reading superscribed, as it is in three mediaeval MSS.; 104 μένος with the Geneva MS. for the vulgar βέλος (τέλος, the reading hitherto supposed to have been the contrary of βέλος disappears); ἐξελ[ύ]θη 293 with Aristarchus and a good minority of MSS.<sup>2</sup>

Another papyrus, containing Θ 1-68 has been published by Mr. E. J. Goodspeed in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I 112 διὰ τοῦ ᾧ ἡ γραφή. I 162 ἐνὶ στήθεσιν ἀχαιοί. οὕτως ἡ γραφή, οὐχὶ ἀδύρομένος. K 539 ἄριστοι οὕτως ἡ γραφή. Δ 622 τε δουικῶς. διὰ τοῦ τε οὐν ἡ γραφή: cf. also Θ 441, M 86, Π 522, Φ 539, and Ψ 721 ἡ γραφή ἐκκνήμιδας ἀχαιούς. The expression is rather a mark of T, but is not peculiar to that MS. Cf. A on Π 248, Ven. 459 on Π 507.

<sup>2</sup> I take this opportunity to suggest that in schol. T on O 10 φησὶ κομάνους should be read φησὶ ὁ κομάνος. Comanus is quoted freely in the scholia; the Gen. MS. reduces his name to κομῶν Φ 363.

the *American Journal of Archaeology* II. No. 5, p. 347 sq. It is of the second century A.D.; its peculiarities are the omission of ν. 6—some ten or more mediaeval MSS. want this line, and the date of the omission is

thus taken back to the age of this document—and of ν. 59, for the absence of which there is no other authority.

T. W. ALLEN.

# THE NEW SCHOLIA TO ILIAD XXI.

OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI, VOL II. P. 63.

The difficulties of col. ix. p. 64 may perhaps be best removed by reading as follows: ὁ μέντοι γ' Ἀρίσταρχος ὁμηρικὸν αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνει· τὰ γὰρ ρεύματα ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ εἶναι. Σέλευκος δ' ἐν ε < . . . . . ὅτι κοινῶς πᾶν ὕδωρ ἀχελῶος καλεῖται· καὶ Δημόδοκος ἐν ε > Ἡρακλείας· Ἰὼς δ' ἐπορίσθης ρεῖμα ἀχελώϊον ἀργυροδίνειω, | ὠκεανοῦ ποταμοῖο δι' εὐρέος ὑγρὰ κέλευθα; τοῦτο δὲ ἐμφαίνειν καὶ Πίνδαρον, λέγοντα τὸν αὐλητικὸν κάλαμον, — ἀχελῶον κρανᾶν, τοῦ ὕδατος —· Πρόσθα μὲν σ' ἀχελῶον τὸν αἰοδότατον εὐ ρώπια κρανᾶν ἑλικὸς τε ποταμοῦ ῥοαὶ τρέφον κάλαμον· ἐτέρως γοῦν λέγειν ὠκεανοῦ πέδα κρανᾶν. πολλοὺς τε πρὸ Δημήτρου θύειν Ἀχελῶφ ὅτι πάντων ποταμῶν ὄνομα ὁ Ἀχελῶος, καὶ ἐξ ὕδατος καρπός.

Aristarchus, however, declares that the line (195) is Homer's, arguing that flowing waters come from ocean; whereas Seleucus in 5 < . . . . . asserting that water in all circumstances is called by one general name of ἀχελῶος, e.g. Demodocus in 5 > of his poem on Heracles.—'Tide of achelōis breaking in silver, by what means wast thou furnished forth in all the liquid walks of ocean's broad river?'; further, that Pindar also shows as much in speaking of the reed of which the flute is made, where 'wells of ἀχελῶος' is for 'wells of water.'—'Most melodious now, once thou wast a reed that the quags of the springs bravely grew, and the streams of the circling river' (i.e. oceanus): that at any rate he

has another phrase (for the same thing i.e. for ἀχελῶον ρώπια κρανᾶν) viz. 'the floors of ocean's springs': also, that many sacrifice to Achelōis rather than to Demeter, because Achelōis is a name for all rivers, and water brings increase.' It would seem that Seleucus, like Aristarchus, defended l. 195, but on different grounds, namely, that ἀχελῶος is a general name for water, and that in other poets it is co-ordinated with ὠκεανός.

The hypothesis of a lacuna not only makes sense out of nonsense, but gets rid of a *Heraclea* by Seleucus. Demodocus, Pisander, Rhianus, and Panyasis each wrote a poem with this title.

The word ρώπια has been preserved in E.M. 705 fin., where it is said to mean τὰ οὐ στερέμνια. Its literal sense is, spots that 'sink' or 'give.'

Col. x. 21, p. 65 read τότε ἔκειτο ἐν ταῖς ἄμμοις <καὶ> αἱ ἐγγέλυνες ἤδη αὐτοῦ ἦσθιον.

Col. xi. 13, p. 66. The Sophocles here mentioned is the commentator of the name.

Col. xi. 19. The ἐγὼ is the redactor of the commentary. He thereby introduces as his own an explanation of the dative with πειρᾶσθαι based upon a special etymology for the verb.—Ἐκ τοῦ πειρηθῆναι ἀντιβίην· ἐγὼ, ἕως πέρας ἐξ ἐναντίας πολεμήσαι, 'face to face to fight with Hector to the end.'

W. G. RUTHERFORD.

## ON THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI.

### CCXI.

12. Qu. ἀπερίσκεπτος ὢν. 13. cf. Ar. *Plutus* 863: νῆ Δία, καλῶς τοῖνυν ποῦν ἀπάλυται. 18. τῶν γεγονότων ποθουμένων looks a rather astonishing phrase, better τῶν γεγονό-

των ποθ' οὐνεκα, 'for what has happened at last.'

### CCXII.

Col. II. The following attempt at restoration of the first twelve lines will show most



easily what I take to be the situation. I am glad to see that my amiable friend the editor has adopted my view so far as previously divulged. I enclose my own additions in brackets.

A. ὑβρίζομεναι. B. μὰ Δί' ἀλλ' ἐγὼ [οὐκ ἀνέξομαι.

ἦν νοῦν ἔχωμεν, σκεψόμεθα [τοὺς ἀνδρας, ὡς μῆδεν πλέον τούτου σθένουσιν [οὐνεκα.

A. τί οὖν γένοιτ' ἂν; B. ἔχ' ἀπόκρивαί μοι τόδε.

5 τί ἐστί τοῦθ' ὃ λέγουσι τὰς [Μιλησias παῖζεν ἔχουσας, ἀντιβολῶ, τὸ [σκυτινόν;

A. φλαγρία καὶ λήρος ὕβρεως ἔμπλεως κἀλλος οἰκίδος καὶ κατ[απνυγοσύνη γε πρὸς.

τούτῳ γὰρ ὥσπερ τοῖσιν ψοῖς χρηστέον

10 τοῖς ἀνεμιαίοις, ὅτι νεοστ[οὺς οὐ ποῖ.

εὐχὴ δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστίν· εν.....

ἐς τοῦτο χρήσει· καὶ πόνο[ν πολλοῦ πλέον.

7. ἔμπλεως Postgate. 8. Cf. *Lys.* 137.

11. I think the meaning may be: 'but even that is a vain dream, for you will need (I can't imagine what) for this, and it is a troublesome business besides,' χρήσει future of χρή, as certainly in Herodotus, though in Attic everyone would expect χρήσται. However χρήσει is quoted from Plato *Laus.* 13-16. Cf. *Lys.* 135.

## CCXIX.

11. λ[ίθο[ις κεῖ]σαι παρ' ἀλιδρόσοις, or ἦσαι.

13. ὅν ἀντί[παιδός. 14. καθύπερ].

17. [παῖ] φέρε τὸ ἐρινόν.

22. It seems probable that Θακοθαλάδος would do for the name of a sitting hen. The characteristic attitude of the hen is squatting on her seat. I take θακο- to mean the ground on which she sits. Very similar is the phrase used by Herondas of sitting birds (vii. 48), ὅκως νεοσσοὶ τὰς κοχῶνας θάλποντες, the beautiful and certain correction of Dr. Jackson.

## CCXXI.

Col. I. *init.* In connexion with the questions here raised on the accentuation of ὅτε δῆ, it is noticeable that Aristophanes begins a sentence at least five times with the words ὅτε δῆ δέ (*Wasps* 121, where see Starkie's note, *Lys.* 523, *Eccl.* 195, 315, 827). The only conceivable reason for the words being put in this order seems to be that ὅτεδῆ was felt to be one word, and the accentuation of Aristarchus therefore can hardly be so παράλογον as it appeared to Herodian.

10. Read 'Ἀλφειοῖο πόρον καθ' [ὃν διαβατὸς ἦ]ν<sup>1</sup> καὶ πορευτός.

Col. VII. 4. I think this a fragment of some lyricist, and so would read [ἀρι]στοπ[όν]ον, a Pindaric word.

5. The next quotation is not from Pindar but Anacreon, for καὶ [π]α[ρ'] 'Ἀνακ[ρόντι] is plainly the right supplement. The metre is Ionic as one might expect in *Parthenia*; it is curious that none of the fragments of Pindar's *Parthenia* are written in it, but Anacreon of course was fond of it. In CCXX., Col. XIII., we are told that the Parthenian metre was - - - - - | - - - - - | - - - - - | - - - - -, which is obviously in reality Ionic with the usual variation between - - - - - and - - - - - so familiar in Galliambic and other Ionic verses.

Col. IX. 5-17. I take the sense of this very puzzling passage to be as follows: 'Aristarchus points out that the line (Φ 195) is Homeric, because all streams are said to be ἐξ Ὠκεανοῦ [whereas if 195 be omitted Homer is represented as saying they are all ἐξ Ἀχελωῖον. And Ocean and Achelous are different things.] So Seleucus says: "How camest to the river of Achelous over the watery ways of Ocean?" [thereby shewing that he does not think them the same]. Aristarchus adds that Pindar's evidence goes in the same direction, when he calls the piper's reed child of the founts of Achelous: "of old wert thou reared by Achelous and the streams of the winding river" [so that Pindar meant a river by Achelous]; at any rate Pindar means a very different thing when he says "beyond the founts of Ocean."

No doubt some critics had argued that Achelous in Homer, as in some other poets, meant simply water, and therefore that Homer would not say 'not even Achelous nor Ocean,' and therefore it was that they omitted 195. They quoted the passage of Pindar as one of their arguments,<sup>2</sup> and Aristarchus retorts that Pindar there did not use the word Achelous as they supposed, but simply for a river; when he wanted to talk of Ocean, he said so straight.

In 9 ρεῦμα is the Attic accusative and so the difficulty about ἐπορεύθης is imaginary. In 17 πε[δ]ᾶ κρανᾶν is surely a rather improbable phrase; πε[ρ]α is common with πόντου and the like.

24. πάντ' ᾄ[ν] is apparently right. 'The oracle regularly told the Greeks to sacrifice to Achelous, and hence they would naturally

<sup>1</sup> So Allen (*supra*).—Ed. C.R.

<sup>2</sup> Their syllogism seems to be: in one place Pindar says Ἀχελωῖον κρανᾶν, in another Ὠκεανοῦ κρανᾶν; therefore Achelous = Ocean.



consider [being a foolish race in the opinion of Ephorus] every river as Achelous.'

Col. X. 22. I should prefer to insert *καὶ* between *ἄμμοις* and *αἱ*, rather than to read *ὅτε* for *τότε* in 21 (see editor's note).<sup>1</sup> 'Either Homer anticipates what would happen on the third day, or else at the time he is speaking of [opposed to *τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ*] the body was lying in the sand and the eels were already busy over it.'

27. *ἐπεὶ γὰρ* has no construction; read *ἐπί*: 'for the word *ἐρέπτεσθαι* is properly used of creatures picking up a thing from the ground with the tongue.' Is the derivation supposed to be from *ἄπτομαι* as well as *ἔρα*?

Col. XI. 19. Possibly *ἐγὼ* arose from a dittography of *ἔως* (*εἰως*). Omitting it, I would construe: 'Ἐκτορι *πειρηθῆναι* for "fight against Hector to the end," governing Ἐκτορος by *ἐξ ἐναντίας* and taking τοῦ to be neuter. To explain *ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἐκτορος* as

<sup>1</sup> So Rutherford (*supra*).—ED. C.R.

meaning that the dative Ἐκτορι is here used for the genitive is inconsistent with the explanation of *πειρηθῆναι* directly given. For if *πειρηθῆναι* were 'ἔως πέρας πολεμῆσαι,' it could not govern a genitive, but a dative would in the nature of things be expected, 'to fight *with* Hector.' It was the dative which caused the absurd derivation.

Col. XII. 2. [*ὥρῳ*]το. Cf. Col. III 15.

3. Possibly [*δύο· δέλη μὲν ἀπὸ*] τῆς *ῥ* ὥρας ἐκείνη μέχρι τῆς . . . δεκάτης αὐτῇ [*ἢ . δεκάτῃ*] δι' ὅψια.

Col. XVII. 19. A blister is a swelling up of the skin, [*τοῦ δέρμα*]τος. Dr. Postgate compares *ἐκζεμα*. A blood-blister might also be thought of, in which case we might read [*τὸν αἷμα*]τος. Postgate also observes that in the scholion quoted by the editors on line 18 we should read *ἀνάγμα* for *ἀνάστημα*.

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#### MISCELLANEA.

PLATO, *Apol.* 17 οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ λέγω, ἢ τί τὸ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς εἰρήκασιν· ὑμεῖς δ' ἐμοῦ ἀκούσεσθε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν—οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δί', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κεκαλλιεπημένους γε λόγους, ὥσπερ οἱ τούτων, ῥήμασί τε καὶ ὀνόμασιν, οὐδὲ κεκοσμημένους· ἀλλ' ἀκούσεσθε εἰκῇ λεγόμενα τοῖς ἐπιτυχούσιν ὀνόμασι—πιστεύω γὰρ δίκαια εἶναι ἃ λέγω—καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν προσδοκῶν σάτω ἄλλως· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν δῆπον πρόποι, ὧ ἄνδρες, τῇδε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὥσπερ μειρακίῳ πλάττοντι λόγους εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι. I need not speak particularly of the chiasmic double contrast at the beginning of this passage (*οὗτοι* *ἐγὼ* / *ὑμεῖς* *ἐμοῦ*) nor of some other minor points. I have tried to make these clear by the way in which I have written and pointed the words. It is about a common misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the words from *κεκαλλιεπημένους* to *ἐπιτυχούσιν ὀνόμασι* that I wish to speak here. Stallbaum's explanation of these words, which has doubtless led many astray, runs thus:—*Præterea commemorat Socrates λόγους κεκοσμημένους*, h.e. *orationes ornatas*, videlicet tropis, figuris, numero; in his enim rebus maxime cernitur κόσμος s. ornatus orationis. This way of interpreting, or rather misinterpreting, is due to failure to heed the chiasmic contrast in the Greek and to mis-

understanding of the meaning of *κεκοσμημένους*. *κεκοσμημένους* (λόγους) is contrasted with *εἰκῇ λεγόμενα* and *κεκαλλιεπημένους* λόγους ῥήμασί τε καὶ ὀνόμασιν with *λεγόμενα* τοῖς ἐπιτυχούσιν ὀνόμασι. *κεκοσμημένους* means 'marshalled,' 'ordered,' 'arranged,' as opposed to *εἰκῇ λεγόμενα*. We find something similar in Eur. *Med.* 576, where *εὖ τοῖσδ' ἐκόσμησας λόγους* may be, I think, most simply interpreted 'well have you marshalled these words.'

Aesch. *Prom.* 629

*μή μου προκίθον μᾶσσον ὥς ἐμοὶ γλυκύ.*

It seems a pity that the latest editors still cling to this reading. It stands in both the annotated edition of the *Prometheus* of Messrs. Sikes and Willson (1898) and the Parnassus Library text of Professor Campbell (1898). Professor Campbell puts Elmsley's *μασσόνως ἢ* 'μοι at the foot of the page, and Messrs. Sikes and Willson say of the same conjecture: 'Were emendation necessary, this would be good.' Though the latter editors have examined Dr. Wecklein's large Greek edition, they do not seem to realize that he has practically given up his former view of the construction in question. His Greek note is decidedly

curious—to say the least. After reproducing the note of the German edition he continues: 'Ἀλλὰ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ μὲν ἑτέρας φύσεως, τὰ δὲ ἀμφισβητουμένης γραφῆς. Ἐὰν δὲ ὡς παρεδόθη ὁρθῶς, ὅπερ φαίνεται βέβαιον, δὲν κείται ἀντὶ τοῦ ἧ. Φαίνεται δὲ πιθανώτερον, ὅτι ἐλλείπει ἐνταῦθα τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ συγκριτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ κώλου τῆς συγκρίσεως ὑπάρχον ἧ (πρβ. Πλάτ. Πολιτ. σελ. 410 D μαλακώτεροι ἧ ὡς κάλλιον αὐτοῖς) καὶ ἡ ἔννοια εἶναι: ὡς ἐμοὶ ἀρεστόν ἐστι, μὴ φρόντιζε πλέον περὶ ἐμοῦ. Πρβ. Εὐρ. Ἰππ. 530 οὔτε γὰρ πυρὸς οὐτ' ἄστρων ὑπέρτερον βέλους οἶον τὸ τὰς Ἀφροδίτας ἵσιν ἐκ χερῶν Ἔρως καὶ Ἀλκ. 879 τί γὰρ ἀνδρὶ κακὸν μῆζον ἀμαρτεῖν πιστῆς ἀλόχου. If it is probable that ἧ is left out here between the terms of the comparison, then it should be put in and *μάσσον* ἧ ὡς be restored. ὡς ἐμοὶ ἀρεστόν ἐστι, μὴ φρόντιζε πλέον περὶ ἐμοῦ does not represent a case of omission of the particle of comparison, but means 'since it is my pleasure, do not take thought about me further.' Of course, the passage cited from Plato has nothing to do with such an interpretation; but it is excellent as a support for the reading *μάσσον* ἧ ὡς. As for the two passages cited from Euripides at the end of the note, that from the *Alcestis* was probably rightly explained by Hermann, as I now think with Mr. Hayley (see his excellent note on *Alc.* 879–80). The passage from the *Hippolytus* is in all likelihood to be corrected by inserting ἧ before οἶον. The copyists quite commonly fumbled ἧ ὡς (and the like: so particularly μὴ οὐ). A good example is to be found in Hippocrates *περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων* 2, when the MSS. vary between the right reading *ἑτεροῖς γνώσκω ἧ ὡς κείνοι ἐπέξημεσαν* and *γινώσκω ὡς* (see Kuehlewein's critical note *ad loc.*). In Xen. *Hellen.* 2. 3, 16 *ἡττόν τι οἶσι (οἴη) ὥσπερ* is a mistake for...*ἧ ὥσπερ*, as I have elsewhere noted. One is surprised to find Solon's *κέντρον δ' ἄλλος ὡς ἐγὼ λαβὼν* figuring in Messrs. Sikes and Willson's note on the *Prometheus* as an example of ὡς=ἧ. Does not Aristotle *Ἀθ. πολ.* 12 paraphrase Solon's words by *εἰ γὰρ τις ἄλλος ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς ἐτυχεν*? This citation the editors just named seem to owe to Mr. Adam (on *Plat. Apol.* 36 D). Mr. Adam believes (or believed) that ὡς could be used for ἧ after a comparative. But the best example he adduces, *Plat. Rp.* 526 C, is due to carelessness on Plato's part owing to the wide separation of *μῆζω πόνον* from the second term of the comparison, which ought, of course, to be ἧ ὅσον τοῦτο or ἧ τοῦτο, but appears in the form ὡς τοῦτο, as though οὐτῶ *μέγαν πόνον* had gone before. After all's

said and done, it would seem that Dr. Thompson's dictum that 'the use of ὡς for ἧ after a comparative is a barbarism' must stand. When shall we see *μὴ μόν προκίδου μάσσον ἧ ὡς ἐμοὶ γλυκύ* come into its own?

In Hom. *Odyssey* α108 *αὐτοῖς* seems to be generally misunderstood. The passage should, I am quite sure, be understood thus (106–109):

εὐρε δ' ἄρα μνηστήρας ἀγήγορας· οἳ μὲν ἔπειτα πεσσοῖσι προπάροιθε θυράων θυμὸν ἔτερπον, ἤμενοι ἐν ῥινόισι βοῶν οὓς ἔκτανον, αὐτοὶ κήρυκες δ' αὐτοῖσι καὶ ὀτρηροὶ θεράποντες κτε

'They themselves were playing at *πεσσοί*, seated on hides of oxen that they had killed, while their heralds," &c.

In Hom. *Iliad* Z, after Antia's accusation of Bellerophon to Proetus we read (166):

ὡς φάτο, τὸν δὲ ἄνακτα χόλος λάβεν, οἶον ἄκουσεν·  
κτεῖναι μὲν ῥ' ἀλέεινε—σεβάσαστο γὰρ τό γε θυμῶι—  
πέμπε δέ μιν Λυκίηνδε, πόρην δ' ὃ γέ σήματα λυγρά, κτε.

In the note to v. 167 in the Leaf-Bayfield edition we read: 'ῥ': probably a corruption of an original *F* = *ἐ*, as in 158 above, Δ 524, &c.' (Similarly in Mr. Leaf's large edition.) Now, however the case may stand with the other verses cited, I am pretty well convinced that the notion that ῥ' here represents *F* = *ἐ* is wrong, and for this reason. After the statement that the king became angry at the monstrous accusation he had heard, we naturally expect a statement of what he did *in consequence* of his anger, or, in other words, we expect a sentence linked to what has gone before by a conjunction meaning 'so,' 'therefore,' 'accordingly': and that is just what the traditional text gives us in ῥ' = ἄρα (οὖν, δῆ).

An οὖν or δῆ standing after the μὲν in the first member of a μὲν—δὲ complex and introducing to the Greek mind the whole complex, to the modern mind the δὲ-clause, is a phenomenon so common in Attic Greek that it ought to be needless to cite passages. However, inasmuch as the first chapter of the *Anabasis* seems to be commonly misread, it may be well to place side by side with the Homeric period just quoted the following: Xen. *An.* i. 1, 1 sq. *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡσθένει Δαρείος καὶ ὑπώπτενε τελευτήν τοῦ βίου, ἐβούλετό οἱ τὸ παῖδε ἀμφοτέρω παρῆναι· ὃ μὲν οὖν προσβύ-*

τερος παρὼν ἐτύγχανε, Κύρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κτέ., (= παρόντος οὖν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Κύρον μεταπέμπεται κτέ.), *An.* i. 1, 4 βουλεύεται ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλ', ἣν δύνηται, βασιλεύσει ἀντ' ἐκείνον. Παρόντως μὲν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε φιλοῦσα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα, ὅστις δ' ἀφικνοῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντας οὕτω διατιθεῖς ἀπεπέμπετο ὥστε ἐαυτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῶν παρ' ἐαυτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπεμελεῖτο ὡς πολέμιν τε ἱκανοὶ εἶσαν καὶ εὐνοικῶς ἔχοιεν αὐτῷ, τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἡθροίζειν ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρουπτόμενος, ὅπως οὐκ ἀπαρασκευάστον λάβει βασιλείαν. ὣδε οὖν ἐποικεῖτο τὴν συλλογὴν. In this passage the connection of thought seems pretty clearly to demand the text as given above. The words τῷ Κύρῳ after ὑπῆρχε disturb the connection of thought, and were probably added by some one who did not understand the construction ὑπῆρχε φιλοῦσα = ἦδη ἐφίλει. The words of Plutarch [*Artax.* 2, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τὸν Κύρον μᾶλλον φιλοῦσα, seem to show that τῷ Κύρῳ was not in Plutarch's text. (Plutarch [*Artax.* 1] and Lucian [*hist. conscr.* 23] read at the beginning of the *Anabasis* what is probably the right order Δ. καὶ Π. παῖδες γίνονται δύο.) Similarly the word Ἀρταξέρξης was added after τὸν βασιλεύοντα by some reader. ἐαυτῷ seems necessary after ὥστε because of the contrast with βασιλεῖ. παρ' ἐαυτῷ is contrasted with παρὰ βασιλέως: so βαρβάρων with the subsequent Ἑλληνικὴν. τὸν βασιλεύοντα followed (twice) by a form of βασιλεύς (βασιλέως, βασιλεῖ) is neat and very Greek.

In Plato's Republic, 470 c, we read: Ἑλλήνας μὲν ἅρα βαρβάρους καὶ βαρβάρους Ἑλλῆσι πολεμῖν μαχομένους τε φήσομεν καὶ πολεμίους φύσει εἶναι καὶ πόλεμον τὴν ἔχθραν ταύτην κλητέον. Ἑλλήνας δὲ Ἑλλῆσιν, ὅταν τι τοιοῦτο δρώσιν, φύσει μὲν φίλους εἶναι, νοσεῖν δ' ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ στασιάζειν καὶ στάσιν τὴν τοιαύτην ἔχθραν κλητέον. Here I believe we should read φύσει μὲν φίλους εἶναι, and in general the formula holds good that ἐχθρός: φίλος :: πολέμιος: φίλιος. As the commoner word, φίλος has been substituted for φίλιος in the MSS. in not a few places. I note here the following: Lysias 12, 38 (read ἡ ὡς πόλεις πολεμίας οὐσας φίλιος ἐποίησαν), Xen. *Anab.* 1, 3, 12 (read πολλοῦ

μὲν ἄξιος φίλος ὡς ἂν φίλιος ἦ), *ib.* 1. 6, 8 (read τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμιος, ἐμοὶ δὲ φίλιος καὶ πιστός).

In Xenophon's *Hellenica*, 2. 3, 16, a slight correction is necessary. Thus: εἰ δέ, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἷς, ἥττόν τι οἶε <ἡ> ὥσπερ τυραννίδος ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς χορῆσαι ἐπιμελίσθαι, εὐθὺς εἰ. In Lysias 12, 80 we read μὴδ' ὧν φασὶ μέλλειν πράξειν πλείω χάριν αὐτοῖς ἵστε ἢ ὧν ἐποίησαν ὀργίζεσθε. Here ὀργίζεσθε is illogical for ὀργὴν ἵστε (or ἔχετε). It seems probable that Lysias had at first intended to end the sentence with ὀργὴν ἔχετε (ἔχετε because he had already used ἵστε with χάριν); but he decided afterwards to vary the construction still further: hence ὀργίζεσθε. We find something similar (in part) to this in Lysias 16, 11 ὅτι τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσοι περὶ κύβους ἢ πότους ἢ τὰς τοιαύτας ἀκολασίας τυγχάνουσι τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενοι, πάντας αὐτοὺς ὀψεσθέ μοι διαφόρους ὄντας καὶ πλείστα τοῦτους περὶ ἐμοῦ λογοποιοῦντας καὶ ψευδομένους. Here, if Lysias had not had τοῦτους (after πλείστα) already in mind when he wrote the beginning of the sentence, or else had he not carefully revised his written sentence, we should pretty certainly have πάντας τοῦτους ὀψεσθε.

In the introduction to Appian's *Roman History* [we read (cap. xi. init.) Τὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίων μεγέθει τε καὶ εὐτυχίᾳ διήνεγκε δι' εὐβουλίαν καὶ χρόνον κτέ. Here Schweighäuser annotates as follows: Legendum puto μεγέθει τε καὶ χρόνῳ; δι' εὐβουλίαν καὶ εὐτυχίαν. This Mendelssohn thinks plausible. But Appian wrote as the words stand. The chiasmic contrast μέγεθος: εὐτυχία :: εὐβουλία: χρόνος is the key to the whole passage. At the end of this passage Appian says: ἔως ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι (χρόνος) κακοπαθοῦντές τε καὶ κινδυνεύοντες ἀγχωμάλως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸδε (μέγεθος) τροίγαγον καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὄναντο διὰ τὴν εὐβουλίαν. Here we have: χρόνος: μέγεθος :: εὐτυχία: εὐβουλία. The thought is that time (and patience) has brought greatness; good counsel has brought good fortune. The difficulty is due to the fact that for the sake of the contrast Appian has used χρόνος in such a way that it is formally opposed to μέγεθος, whereas in fact the connotation 'patience' outweighs the denotation 'duration.'

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## CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA AND PLUTARCH.

Connected with the *Eclogae ex Scripturis Propheticiis* of Clement of Alexandria, § 34, is a piece of literary history on which perhaps some reader of the *Classical Review* may be able to throw further light.

The section reads thus :

Ἦν τόποι μὲν καθαροὶ καὶ λειμῶνες ἐδέξαντο φωνὰς καὶ τινὰς ὄψεις ἀγίων φασμάτων· ἄνθρωπος δὲ ὁ ἀκριβῶς κεκαθαρμένος ἀπασ διδασκαλίας καὶ δυνάμεως θεϊκῆς καταξιωθήσεται.

The opening words of this do not construe, as Sylburg justly remarks, even if we read ἦ for ἦν.

In Stobaeus *Florilegium* Tit. 120, No. 28 is a long passage headed Θεμιστίων ἐκ τοῦ Περὶ Ψυχῆς. This is an extract from a dialogue between Timon and Patrocleus. In the course of it Timon compares the experiences of the soul immediately after death with those of a man being initiated into the τελεταὶ μεγάλαι. These experiences he describes as follows.

Πλάναι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ περιδρομαὶ κοπῶδεις καὶ διὰ σκότους τινὸς ὑποποτὶ πορεύει καὶ ἀτέλειστοι, εἴτα πρὸ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα, φρίκη, καὶ τρόμος, καὶ ἰδρὼς, καὶ θάμβος· ἐκ δὲ τούτου, φῶς τι θαυμάσιον ἀπήντησεν, ἢ τόποι καθαροὶ καὶ λειμῶνες ἐδέξαντο, φωνὰς καὶ χορείας καὶ σεμνότητος ἀκουσμάτων ἱερῶν καὶ φαντασμάτων ἀγίων ἔχοντες, κ.τ.λ.

Is the coincidence of language merely fortuitous here? I think it can be shown that it is not. In § 35 of the *Eclogae* of Clement we have two more coincidences with 'Themistius.'

I know, he says, that the mysteries of γινῶσις are laughed at by the mob. τοὺς δὲ ὀλίγους, καθάπερ φῶς ἐπεισενεχθὲν ἐξαίφνης συμποσίῳ τινὶ συνηρεφέι, ἐκπλήξει τὰ πρῶτα· ἔπειτα ἔθισαντες...ὡς ὑφ' ἡδονῆς εὐφραίνόμενοι κ.τ.λ. Themistius (*l.c.* p. 468 ed. Gaisford) καὶ φῶς ἐπεισενεχθὲν ἐξαίφνης συμποσίῳ θόρυβον καὶ κρότον ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἐποίησε.

Again Clement, § 35: ὡς γὰρ ἡδονὴ τὴν τῆς ἀλγηδόνος ἀπαλλαγὴν οὐσίαν ἔχει, οὕτως ἡ γινῶσις τῆς ἀγνοίας τὴν ὑπεξαίρεισιν.

Themistius, *l.c.* p. 467: ἡδονὴ δ' ἥδε πᾶσα μὲν ἴσως οὐσίαν ἔχει καὶ φύσιν ἀλγηδόνος ἀπαλλαγὴν.

The next sentences in Clement contain a metaphor about sleep: and sleep is the subject of a large part of the Themistius passage.

I do not think, then, that we can doubt that Clement had read this dialogue *περὶ*

ψυχῆς. But if that be so, Themistius cannot have been the author of that dialogue: for Themistius lived late in the fourth century.

Wytttenbach had already assigned the dialogue to Plutarch, and prints the passage among the fragments of the *Moralia*. A principal reason which led him to this attribution lay in the names of the interlocutors in the fragment, Timon and Patrocleus: for Timon and Patrocleus are the names of speakers in Plutarch's tract *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*.

Prof. Ernst Maass in his interesting book *Orpheus* (Munich, 1895, p. 303) prints a portion of the Themistius extract, contests Wytttenbach's conjecture as to its authorship, and gives reasons for believing it to be by Themistius. In face of the hitherto unnoticed quotation of the Themistius extract by Clement, his reasoning (which is not supported by any positive evidence) must fall to the ground.

Apparently Clement is not otherwise known to quote from Plutarch. As far as dates are concerned, he might have done so, for Plutarch died early in the second century.

We seem to have gained from the above investigation the following points:—

1. Themistius cannot be the author of the extract in Stobaeus.
2. Clement of Alexandria had read the work from which that extract is taken.
3. We can by the help of the extract slightly improve the text of Clement's *Eclogae*.
4. The fact of the quotation by Clement tends to support Wytttenbach's conjecture that the extract is from Plutarch's dialogue *περὶ ψυχῆς*.

I have left on one side the two possible hypotheses: 1. That Themistius is the true author of the extract, and that he is quoting Clement; 2. That both Clement and Themistius derived the phrases common to them from Plutarch. Neither supposition seems tolerable upon a perusal of the documents.

Plutarch's dialogue *περὶ ψυχῆς* is quoted by Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* xi. 36.) which fact may tend to make it less surprising that Clement should have made use of it at an earlier time. It may be interesting to some to know that the story quoted by Eusebius is a piece of folk-lore which reappears in St. Gregory's *Dialogues* iv.

36. A man (Antyllus) has been ill and is given up by the doctors. He revives and says that he has been dead, and that the spiritual messengers who took his soul were rebuked by their Master, who said he had sent them to fetch Nicandas. Nicandas—a cobbler who lived near Antyllus—is accordingly taken ill soon after and dies. In

St. Gregory's form of the story, the two actors are both named Stephen; one is an 'illustris,' the other a smith. Gregory heard the story from the former Stephen himself, together with another, in which Stephen affords further proof of his habit of putting new faces on old friends.

M. R. JAMES.

#### PLAUTUS, *PERSA*, 376-377 AND 610.

Goetz and Schoell print vv. 376-377 thus:—

*Lubere tibi per me licere intellego,  
Verum lubere hau liceat, si liceat mihi.*

Here *liceat, si liceat* is the reading of A, but I believe the repetition of *liceat* to be merely a mistake of the copyist. Leo '*Pistoris coniectura*' adopts *lubeat, si liceat*. But the Palatine reading is *liceat, si lubeat* (B *lubeat*), and I feel sure that this is right and should be restored.

The girl is complaining to her father that they do not stand upon an equal footing. He is at an advantage, she is at a disadvantage. 'I see that *you* may indulge your whims for anything I can do to stop you (*per me* = *ἐμὸν γὰρ ἔνεκα*), but, if *I* did take a fancy, I should not be allowed by you to indulge it.' This is the sense required, and it can be got, if I am right, only from *liceat, si lubeat*, the Palatine reading.

v. 610, T. *Ehodum huc, virgo. vide sis quid agas.* V. *Taceas: curabo ut voles.*

Anyone who reads the preceding lines carefully will see that line 610 is an intolerable repetition. All that it contains has been already said, and said better and more fully, in the previous asides between Toxilus and the girl. The line should be enclosed in brackets as a recension, probably an actor's version intended to replace the previous lines. It is significant that the Palatine MSS. omit the line, so that the actor's recension was made in A only.

[I had marked in my copy v. 551 as belonging to Toxilus, v. 615 *exquire. heus tu, advigila* to be given continuously to Toxilus, *exquire* being addressed to Dordalus, *heus tu, advigila* to the girl. But Ussing and Leo have, I find, already made these corrections, so it is needless to elaborate the point.]

J. H. GRAY.

#### FOLKLORE IN VIRGIL.

*Bucolics*, iv. 43-44.

The latest English editors of Virgil are somewhat severe in their comments upon this passage. Mr. Sidgwick says, 'The conception of rams becoming naturally purple, scarlet or yellow is rather grotesque.' Mr. Page says, 'There is only a step from the sublime to the ridiculous and Virgil has decidedly taken it.' But it is very dangerous to proclaim a glaring fault in the work of so careful an artist as Virgil. In the first place, fleeces are sometimes found with pale shades of gray shading into purple here and there, or again, they are tinged

with pale yellow passing into orange and terra cotta. Farmers in the English Lakes sometimes select such fleeces for use as rugs in their parlours. I remember seeing a rug which did not need the deceitful aid of dyes, as Virgil would say. But these unaccustomed tints had a meaning for religion. For, indeed the fourth eclogue seems as it were to be redolent with the heavy fumes of incense. According to Macrobius, Virgil was relying upon a tradition of augury. 'Traditur in libris Etruscorum, si hoc animal insolito colore fuerit inductum, portendi imperatori rerum omnium felicitatem. est super hoc liber Tarquiti transcriptus ex



Ostentario Tusco. ibi reperitur purpureo aureove colore ovis ariesve si aspergetur, principi ordinis et generis summa cum felicitate largitatem auget, genus progeniem propagat in claritate laetiozemque efficit.' Macr. Sat. III vii 2. Tarquitiu is quoted by the elder Pliny among the authorities for his second book.

*Aeneid*, vi. 282-284: 893-898.

If there is a mystical turn about the fourth eclogue, which compels us to go below the surface for the poet's meaning, this is also the case with these two passages from the sixth book of the *Aeneid*. The study of them will not be without importance for our understanding of Virgil's method. And first as to the Tree of Dreams.

If we read the *Aeneid* carefully, we shall find that Virgil had formed for himself a fairly consistent theory of dreams; a theory which appears if we may judge from Lucr. i. 120-126 to have been suggested by Ennius. According to Ennius there are 'Acherusian quarters', which are reached, not indeed by soul nor body, but by 'certain phantoms pale in wondrous wise' which are thus distinguished from the souls of the dead. And it was from this place that the form of Homer rose before him. It is just possible that the phrase, *simulacra modis pal-lentia miris*, is quoted by Lucretius from Ennius and that Virgil is referring to Ennius when he makes use of the idea. L. Müller gives the passage as the fourth fragment of the *Annals* I. At any rate it is not absolutely certain that Virgil depends upon Lucretius even for the turn of phrase. Virgil first refers to this passage when he describes the apparitions that haunted Italy before the outbreak of the civil war, Georg. i. 477. The editors should perhaps give a reference here to Ennius as well as the later poet. Not only does Virgil repeat the turn of phrase several times but what is more important for us now, he throughout employs the idea of Ennius, as the following examples will show. It is not Sychaeus but his likeness, *imago*, that appears to Dido in her sleep, *Aen.* i. 353. The apparition of Hector to Aeneas is closely imitated from that of Homer to Ennius, ii. 270 cf. Cic. *Acad.* II. 51. The next example is striking: 'Infelix simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creusae Visa mihi ante oculos et nota maior *imago*,' ii. 772. The case of the Penates iii 148. is not a genuine exception; there could scarcely be any question of their phantoms appearing. And

lastly Virgil himself seems to define the meaning of the dream-shapes by the instance of Anchises. When Anchises appears to his son, we are told that his likeness seemed to glide down from heaven, v 725. Although Aeneas was haunted every night by the 'restless phantom'—*turbida imago*—of his father, iv 351, Anchises retains no memory of these meetings and greets his son in the shades as if for the first time after a long interval. It is abundantly clear, then, from these examples that the phantoms which gather round the Tree of Dreams are to be distinguished as Ennius had already done, from the souls of those whom they represent.

There is another agreement between Virgil and what Lucretius reports to us as the opinion of Ennius. The path to the waters of Acheron starts from the elm tree *Aen.* vi 295. Compare this with the 'Acherusian quarters' where the pale phantoms of Ennius foregather, and whence the form of Homer arose on its visit to him. The elm tree answers exactly to the description of the older poet.

But why should there be an elm tree? It is to be remembered that dreams in their origin were thought to be the souls of human beings visiting others in their sleep. Thus the elm tree is like a home of souls and is to be classed along with other trees of life with which the life of mankind has been thought to be bound up. It reminds one of the elm trees which were planted round the tomb of Eetion. I have quoted some other parallels in my *Worship of the Romans* pp 43, 44. Of course it cannot be proved that Virgil regarded this tree as planted near a grave, but he comes very near indeed to saying so. It is planted in the middle of the forecourt of the kingdom of death, and is perhaps the last object of earthly reality upon which the traveller can look as he takes the last journey. For the forms which gather round the tree are as unreal as the phantoms which cling to its leaves, vi 292-294.

Virgil says of the dreams that they cling to the leaves. Are they like the leaves themselves to which the souls on the banks of Acheron are compared, vi 309, or are they like the birds in which also Virgil sees a resemblance to the souls? Both of these comparisons have numerous analogies in their favour. In addition to the illustrations which I have quoted elsewhere (*Worship of the Romans* 43, 44) there is one in the *Folklore of the Fjort*, p. 57. One of the characters in a story sings: 'Now am I

indeed dead and become a bird.' I do not think however that the dreams are either leaves or birds. Surely they retain their own shadowy shapes, Sychaeus and Anchises and Hector and the others, as in a mysterious album of the portraits of the dead.

From the elm tree onward with its 'unsubstantial dreams,' the poet moves amid creatures of the imagination. He begins with personified states of mind, Grief, Care, Disease and Old Age, and after his journey through the shades, is himself dismissed through that gate of sleep which affords a passage to false dreams. In passing let us note that Virgil here repeats the distinction with which we are now familiar. On the one hand are the genuine souls of the dead, which pass through the gate of horn; on the other are the false dreams.

What are these gates of sleep? *They are the eyes and the mouth respectively.* The eyeball furnishes the gate of horn; the teeth, the gate of gleaming ivory. 'The dreams,' Homer says in the passage which Virgil is imitating, 'the dreams that pass through the polished ivory cheat with vain promises and bring unaccomplished words. But the dreams that pass through the smooth horn, bring sure things to pass when a mortal sees them,' τ 562. There seems to be a play upon ἐλέφας and ἐλεφαίρουαι as well as upon κέρας and κραίνειν. But the motive of the comparison is very widespread, cf. Herod i. 8; Horace, A.P. 180; Plautus *Truc.* ii, vi 8 'pluris est oculatus testis unus quam auriti decem.' Taubmann in his commentary on Plautus, gave the above interpretation quite clearly two

centuries ago. 'By the gate of horn is meant the eyes: which are of the colour and hardness of horn. The ivory gate is the mouth, and receives its name from the teeth. True shades come forth from the gate of horn because those things are true which we see with our eyes. But false ones come through the gate of ivory, because those things which we hear are for the most part false,' *ad Truc.* ii 68. Hence when Virgil dismisses the travellers through the gates of ivory, he is reminding us that it is the poet's voice that has given them life. The close of this episode is thus in character with its beginning. The whole episode in fact, is like a vision interpolated in the course of the story of Aeneas. But, as the poet is careful to point out, it is not one of those visions which seem to bring their warrant with them. The poet does not, like Blake in his prophetic books, describe what has been revealed and told to him. He is throughout the self-conscious artist who uses the materials of legend as symbols of truth. Conington, following Heyne, is content to suggest that Virgil hit upon the idea of the gates of sleep by a happy chance, and has nothing to say about the convincing interpretation which was suggested so long ago by Taubmann. Mr. Sidgwick is content to refer to the parallel furnished by Homer. I venture to think that any interpretation of this masterpiece of Virgil must take special account of these two pieces of folklore—the tree of dreams and the gates of dreams—in which it is framed.

F. GRANGER.

#### THE ARATEA OF GERMANICUS.<sup>1</sup>

It is just three hundred years since Hugo Grotius, then a youth of seventeen and already the editor of Martianus Capella, put forth at Leyden that *Syntagma Arateorum* which Barth declares to be the work of Scaliger, and which might indeed be Scaliger's if it were not devoid of Scaliger's characteristic vices. Neither on Cicero nor on Auienus nor on Aratus himself did Grotius spend such pains as on Germanicus, whose plight was then the worst of the four; and with only the old editions and a single MS to

<sup>1</sup> *Germanici Caesaris Aratea*, iterum edidit Alfredus Breysig. Lipsiae, Teubner, 1899.

help him he did very much more for his author than these three centuries have done between them. But though there is no other editor whose name should be written on the same page with Grotius', still Schwartz in 1715, Orelli in 1832, and Baehrens in 1879, have all effected something tangible: Orelli especially, who first provided an apparatus criticus and classified the MSS. Mr Breysig's two editions, the larger of 1867 and this smaller book of 1899, are less important: they contain I think only five true emendations of his own; but Germanicus has been studied a

good deal since 1867, and scattered through the text and notes of the second edition are many valuable corrections. These, and one or two which Mr Breysig has omitted, I will here amass, and display within a brief compass the gains of the last 32 years.

Perhaps the most noticeable of all are Mr P. von Winterfeld's conjecture at 692 and Mr F. Stahl's at frag. ii 16. At 692 the constellations which rise with Capricorn end with the line

eminus exurgit Minoa nota corona.

It is not from Aratus, it is false to fact, it is ἀσύνδετον, and *eminus* is useless and *nota* is poor: as poor as Mr Breysig's conjectural introduction of the same epithet at 636. Grotius accordingly expelled the verse; but Mr Winterfeld (de Rufi Festi Auieni metaphrasi, Berlin 1895, p. 34) restores

et minus exurgit Minoa nota corona,

'and up rises the Crown less famed than Ariadne's.' Germanicus supplements Aratus from his own astronomical knowledge: this is the Southern Crown which lies before the feet of Sagittarius, Arat. 401, Germ. 391.

At frag. ii 16, where Germanicus tells how long each planet takes to complete its orbit, the MSS gave and the editors supinely accepted the inane announcement '*bīnos* Gradiūsus perficit orbis.' It is less an honour to Mr Stahl (de Ausonianis studiis poet. Graecorum, Kiel 1886, p. 47) than a shame to his predecessors that he was the first to write *bīnos*; just as it is less an honour to Schwartz that he emended 'Mercuriusque celer, regno caelique uerendus | Iuppiter' in verse 4 of this same fragment, than a shame to the two last editors that they retain the corruption *caeloque*. Both corrections I made myself, and any other attentive reader would have made them.

Similarly the manuscript notes of J. C. Schaubach (ob. 1849) furnish three corrections, 472 *diuidui* for *diuidū*, 605 *Canero* for *caelo*, frag. iv 73 *Phosphoros* for *Hesperos*, which have been rediscovered since his time by other scholars: the first by Baehrens, the second by Mr Maybaum, the third by Mr Ellis. Mr Breysig accepts *diuidui* and *Phosphoros* but rejects *Canero*: it is the most certain of the three, see Arat. 591, Cic. 371, Auien. 1104: as to Mr Winterfeld's defence of *caelo* in Herm. xxx p. 559, I will only say that I should have expected it to satisfy Mr Breysig but not to satisfy Mr Winterfeld. Sabbadini's emendation

*ora* for *ore* at 348 was also repeated by Mr Ellis.

The rest I will simply enumerate. Haupt 268 *uēnus tepor ammonet* for *uentus super immouet*, 271 *multum accepta epulis* (*epulis* Burmann) for *plurimum acceptas prohs*: since folk still tinker away at this verse as if it were not emended let me say that after the false division *acceptae plis* this last word or no-word was mistaken both for *prolis* (*plis*) and for *pluris* (*pl'is*): the former stands in our MSS as *prohs*, the latter wandered to the margin, adhered to *multum*, and engendered *plurimum*. Baehrens (I do not include his corrections of the dozen lines he was the first to discover) 292 *speculaberis* for *spectaueris* (which Mr Breysig retains as if it were *expectaueris*), 293 *rabi-dus* for *rapidus*, 369 punctuated, 670 *iam toto iam toto* for *iam toto uastus et* (Breysig absurdly *iam vasto*), frag. iv 99 *glaciante* for *glacia te*, 130 *idem* for *aut idem*, 139 *moveat* for *moveat*, 143 *gelu* for *caelum*. Ellis 317 *aptum* for *ardum*, 636 *torta* for *tota*, frag. iv 72 *ubi* for *sub*, 77 *memento* for

*menalto* (= ME-MEALTO). Maybaum (who has well restored and defended MS readings at 181, 295, 306) 192 *respiciis* for *respicit*, 375 punctuated, 464 *a cubito* (= *abucito* = *ab umo*) for *ab umero*, 638 *cum corpore* for *tunc pectore* (Mr Breysig adopts *cum* and ignores *corpore*, which is equally necessary). R. Dahms 714 punctuated; C. F. Kinch 620 *creterra* (*cratera* edd.) for *terra*. Two capital corrections are assigned to an 'anonymus'. 167 *positam* for *portans* or *totam*, 499 *libra: quae sidera* for *librato sidera* or *libato siderat*.

Mr Breysig's own services to the text are the following: I do not count instances like 38 and 71 where he ascribes to his own conjecture what are really MS readings, nor the places where he alters *humeri* to *umeri* and records his exploit. 73 *sertis* for *stellis*. Baehrens' objection is only one of several signs that Baehrens had never read Aratus. 145 *explentur* (*expletur* edd.) for *expletum*. 335 *hanc* for *hunc*: perspicuity requires the alteration though grammar does not. 371 *radiat* for *adiat* or *radians*. 677 sq. 'nil trahit obscurum Serpens, et trunca recepta | desinit esse manu (Grotius) *membris deformis imago*' for *sed . . . manum mediis*: the construction in my opinion is 'recepta manu desinit esse trunca membris.' He well retains *alte* at 313, and defends *deuictam* at 272 against Burmann's *defectam* by citing Auien. 187, a passage I cannot bear to mention without correcting it: write 'sic insidisse labore | deuictum fama est. *at, cum*

Tirynthius aethrae | inditus et solio fultus  
sublime paterno est, | Iuppiter hanc speciem  
... reddidit': the texts have *ac tum*, and  
a full stop after *paterno est*: the corruption  
*ac tum* for *at cum* recurs ib. 1308.

Mr Breysig has said in Herm. xvii p. 407 (1882) and again in Teubner's Mitteilungen for 1898, no. 4 p. 102, that the edition of Baehrens was 'in kritischer Beziehung ein entschiedener Rückschritt.' The relics of Germanicus are about 930 verses, and in 153 of these do Baehrens and Mr Breysig differ. But Mr Breysig hardly differs more from Baehrens than from himself: his two texts, 1867 and 1899, dissent in 120 verses; and in many places he has now come over to Baehrens. His variants from Baehrens may be ranged in three chief classes: those places where he adopts conjectures made since Baehrens' time; those where he abandons, often rightly, conjectures adopted by Baehrens and reverts, less often rightly, to the MSS; and those where he follows the family O and Baehrens the family Z.

This last is the department in which Mr Breysig especially supposes himself to be Baehrens' superior: Baehrens is 'eclectic,' he is 'scientific.' Translated out of formulas into plain speech, this means that Baehrens thinks for himself and chooses (not always well) what seems to him the better of two readings; Mr Breysig, in order to avoid thinking for himself, accepts the reading of O, provided only that it seems to him enduring. Which of these two methods is more properly to be called scientific I will not now enquire; because it so happens that in the text of Germanicus they produce results which do not greatly differ. The places where O and Z dissent are for the most part places where the reading either of Z or else of O is utterly unendurable, even to Mr Breysig; and his notion that he and Baehrens differ considerably in their adherence to this or that family of MSS is a mere hallucination. O and Z contain in common about 500 verses, and they are continually at variance. Unless I have missed count, the places where Mr Breysig follows O while Baehrens follows Z are only twenty-three (9, 15, 74, 78, 89, 90, 110 sq., 155, 181, 194, 201, 203, 221, 226, 238, 254, 269, 326, 331, 355, 444, 457, 512); and in nine of these the Mr Breysig of 1867 agreed with Baehrens. True, there are three passages outside this list, 26, 306, 499, where Baehrens follows Z while Mr Breysig has a reading equidistant from Z and O; and there are two, 352 and 567,

where Mr Breysig follows O while Baehrens has a reading equidistant from O and Z or disregards them both completely. But then on the other hand there is one place, 169, where Baehrens follows O and Mr Breysig has a reading nearer to Z; and there is actually one, 465, where Mr Breysig follows Z while Baehrens follows O.

So far from grave then is the amount of difference between the eclectic and the scientific editor. Now to consider its nature. In ten places out of the twenty-three, 9, 74, 78, 90, 110 sq., 155, 203, 444, 457, 512, there is either no decisive reason or else no reason at all for preferring Z to O or O to Z. In one place, 194, there is room for much variance of opinion: *caelo cum luna refulsit* O, *cum stellis luna refulsit* Z, *cum stellis luna retundit* Baehrens, cf. Anien. 1753 'sidera luna retundit,' 514 sq. 'astra...aciem quibus...luna retundit,' Cic. 247 'pleno stellis superat cum lumine luna.' In six places, 181 *piscibus* O (vindicated by Mr Maybaum), *fluctibus* Z, 201 *nondum* O (vindicated by a critic in the Litt. Centralbl. for 1868, p. 725), *posse* Z, 221 *Hippocrenen* O, -es Z, 269 *et* O, *at* Z, *aut* Baehrens, 326 *declivis* O, *declinis* Z, 355 *lucida* O, *rosida* Z, Mr Breysig is certainly or probably right in preferring O. In six places, 15, 89, 226, 238, 254, 331, he is certainly wrong. Four of these may be dealt with briefly. 89 'insigni (Z, insignis O) caelum perfundent lumine Chelae': everyone else, including Mr Breysig's former self, has preferred *insigni*: *insignes* was the old vulgate, but vanished as soon as *insigni* was made known by Grotius: Germanicus uses *lumine* twelve times, never without an epithet, except at 266 where it means 'in respect of brilliancy' and to add an epithet would be impossible. 237 sq. 'tris illi laterum ductus: aequata duorum | sunt spatia; unius breuior, sed clarior *ignis* (Z, *igne* O)': Bentley's *breuius*, as Haupt says opusc. iii p. 408, is necessary (Mr Breysig answers 'at breuior est ductus unius lateris': first, in order that *unius* may mean *unius lateris* and not *unius ductus*, we are to forget the existence of *tris ductus* in the line above; then we are instantly to remember it again and supply *ductus* with *breuior*), and therefore *ignis* is necessary too, unless you write *clarior igne*. 254: the constellation Perseus 'properare uidetur | et uelle aligeris purum aethera tangere plantis' according to O: why does he seem to want to do what he is doing already? his feet already touch the high air: he looks as if he wished them to cleave it in flight, *findere* Z. 331:

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the difference between Z's 'tale caput *magnique umeri*, sic balteus ardet, | sic uagina ensis, pernici sic pede lucet' and O's 'tale (though O has not *tale* but *tela*) caput, *magnisque umeris* sic' etc. (*que* corrupting the rhetoric of *tale...sic...sic...sic*) is just the difference between competent writing and incompetent. The remaining pair of examples are too scandalous to be dismissed thus lightly.

224-228:

inde subest Aries, qui longe maxima currens  
orbe suo spatia ad finem non tardius Vrsa

peruenit, et, quanto { *grauiore* O }  
{ *breviore* Z } Lycaonis

Arctos

axem actu torquet, tanto pernicior ille  
distantes cornu properat contingere metas.

'*gravis* apte significat tardum actum Vrsae' Maybaum de Cicerone et Germanico, Rostock 1889, p. 33; 'passt sogar allein die Lesart *grauiore* zu den folgenden *pernicior*, denn *gravis* heisst hier schwerfällig und bildet so einen Gegensatz zu *pernici*, der durch *brevis* unmöglich bezeichnet werden kann' Breysig, Herm. xvii p. 406. There are your scientific critics. The word *grauior* (= *tardior*) is the opposite of the word *pernicior*, and words are their sole concern: thoughts they have nothing to do with, and what the sentence means they neither guess nor care. When Germanicus died, men stoned the temples of the gods and overturned their altars; householders tumbled their Lares in the street and the father left his new-born child to perish; barbarians kept truce upon the frontiers, dependent princes cut off their beards and shaved the heads of their seraglios, and the king of kings abstained from hunting and refused audience to his grandees. And the man whose death made this commotion in earth and heaven is said by Messrs Maybaum and Breysig to have clad in hexameter verse the sapient proposition that Aries is as much quicker than Arctos as Arctos is slower than Aries, i.e., that the distance from York to London is the same as the distance from London to York. Now the hebetude and inattention which lead critics into blunders like this are in themselves ridiculous enough; but when they are accompanied by prattle about 'die ersten Grundsätze der historischen Kritik,' and by rebukes addressed to those whose superior care and acuteness have preserved them from such blunders, the combination is insufferable. If *grauiore* were the true reading it would have to mean *vehementiore*; and even then the sentence

would be trivial and aimless and no more applicable to the equatorial constellation Aries than to any other sign in the sky. *breviore* is exactly right. In the same period of twenty-four hours Arctos describes a small circle and Aries a great circle. Therefore Aries' motion is as much faster than Arctos' as Arctos' path is shorter than Aries'.

15 sq:

haec ego dum Latiis { *cogor* O }  
{ *conor* Z } praedicere

Musis,

pax tua tuque adsis nato.

The intrinsic superiority of *conor* to *cogor* (which Mr Breysig renders 'ich fühle mich gedrungen') nobody denies, not even Mr Breysig: one need but turn to the preludes of other didactic poems, Lucr. i 25 *conor*, Ouid. fast. i 15 (addressed to Germanicus) *conanti*, Manil. iii 4 *conor*, Gratt. cyn. 22 *nisus*, Aetna 24 *molimur*. But Mr Breysig adopts the worse reading because 'optimorum librorum auctoritate firmatur.' Now Mr Breysig's preference of O's authority to Z's is either based on nothing or it is based on a comparison between the lections of the two families. In making that comparison, did he count this example, verse 15, as a point in favour of Z and against O, or did he not? If he did not, the conclusions of such a partisan are worthless. But if he did, what does he now mean by turning his back upon himself? On Nov. 23rd 1899 there was played in Berlin an international football match, in which the Germans scored two goals and the Englishmen thirteen: the result was said to be a win for England by thirteen goals to two. If Mr Breysig had appeared upon the scene with his 'first principles of historical criticism', which may briefly be formulated as 'uae uictis', he would have taken away Germany's two goals and given them to England, which he would then have announced to be the winner by fifteen goals to none.

Now we have garnered the fruits of Mr Breysig's addiction to the authority of O. In six places it has led him wrong where Baehrens was right, in six it has led him right where Baehrens was wrong, in eleven we cannot tell which it has done. And those eleven are the only places of the twenty-three where the authority of O can be invoked without impertinence. The other dissensions of O and Z can be settled, and therefore must be settled, by reason: where reason has a word to utter, authority must sit mum. It is not as if examples of Z's



superiority to O were few and insignificant and therefore to be scrutinised mistrustfully: they are less frequent, but not less striking, than examples of O's superiority to Z. I take the following at random: 75 *notabis* Germanicus, *notabilis* Z, *nitendo* O, 92 *sidere uitam* Z, *munere ripam* O, 122 *excelsis* Z, *ea* O, 128 *abit usus per uota* Z, *habitus super uocata* O, 217 *rudis inde assurgit* Z, *radiis unde absurgit* O, 389 *flamma* Z, *magna* O, 392 *parulum* Z, *nullum* O, 430 *forat... lucent* Z, *foret... lucent* O, 449 *duo namque* Z, *quoniamque* O, 497 *radiatos extrulit* Z, *radios intulit* O, 512 *traicit* Z, *trahit* or *trahit et* O. Such examples destroy any presumption that O will be right and Z be wrong when the two are found to differ: each difference must be tried on its merits, and only when reason professes itself unable to decide can resort be had to the pis-aller of authority. Those who cannot reason may wish that it were not so, but so it is.

Of Mr Breysig's irrationality I will take another instance from another sphere. Baehrens discovered in the cod. Arundelianus nine verses unknown before, which in his edition are frag. v. Mr Breysig pp. xxviii sq. declares them spurious. Why? Because verse 2 contains the words *humeris uirtutis* (astrorumque globos et sidera maximus Atlans | protulit in populos *humeris uirtutis* et omnes | stellarum motus certa ratione notauit), and Mr Breysig learnt in 1882 from a book of Mr Sittl's, what most scholars knew already, that this is not good Latin for *umeris uirtute praeditis*. Very well. Is frag. iii lsq. *Aries spargunt* good Latin? Is frag. iv l *Iuppiter est laeto* good Latin? Is phaen. 624 *exilem Oceano Bootes* good Latin? Mr Breysig does not think so: does he then declare that frag. iii and frag. iv and the phenomena are spurious? No, he corrects those verses. And he corrects verses in this very frag. v: he writes 1 *astrorumque* for *astrorum*, 4 *Tyrii* for *Syrii*, 5 *uentos et* for *uento set*, 7 *qua* for *quo*: only when he comes to verse 2 does he assume that the vice which it contains is due to the author and not the copyist. And the vice happens to be one which cannot be due to any author. Never, in any age of Latinity, did there exist a man capable of saying that Atlas invented astronomy with his shoulders.

Now an example of Mr Breysig's willing acquiescence in MS corruptions. 117—119:

fructusque dabat placata colono  
sponte sua tellus, nec parui terminus agri  
praestabat dominis, *sine eo* tutissima, rura

This is Lachmann's correction (Lucr. p. 38) of *signo*. Mr Breysig thinks that Mr Maybaum 'satis prospere tutatus est' the MS lection, 'cum contraria sibi esse terminum et signum recte monuit.' Certainly there is nothing in the world to hinder Mr Maybaum from saying this or anything else: a writer who knew Latin would not say it, but Mr Maybaum declines *uber* like *celer* and uses *quicquam* for *aliquid*; and a writer who respected facts would not say it, but Mr Maybaum asserts that wherever O and Z dissent O's reading is the genuine, that Germanicus does not elide before a short vowel a syllable ending in *m*, and that Aries is in juxtaposition with the base of the Triangle. The Romans however, not having Mr Maybaum at hand to misinform them, never heard of this contrariety between *signum* and *terminus*: they fancied that a *terminus* was a *signum*. Germanicus received the dedication of a book from the foremost poet of his day; and there he found Terminus described as 'separat *indicio* qui deus arua suo' and addressed with the words 'si tu *signasses* olim Thyreatida terram.' In the same context he read 'omnis erit *sine* te litigiosus ager', and in Ovid's account of the golden age 'erant *sine* uindice *tuti*'; so he took his pen and wrote what the scribes corrupted and Lachmann restored and Messrs Maybaum and Breysig have corrupted again. Have these scholars read Verg. georg. i 125 sqq. 'ante Iouem...ne *signare* quidem aut partiri limite campum | fas erat'?

How far we still are from having a proper recension of Germanicus one simple example will show. The MSS give 31 'pronas rapit orbis in ipsos | declines umeros, 61 'serpentis decline caput', 663 'in caput atque umeros rapit orbis Cassiepam | declinemque trahunt aeterni pondera mundi', rightly I think in every case (just as on the other hand *declinuis* is right at 326 'hinc alius *declinuis* nascitur ordo'), and so I write 'decline caput' for *declinuis* in Auien. 164. Grotius substituted *declinuis* in all three verses, 31, 61, 663, wrongly I think; but that is not the point. The point is that the two last editors, Baehrens in 1879, and Mr Breysig in 1899, print *declinuis* in 31 and 61 but *declinuis* in 663: yes, 'in umeros rapit orbis Vrsas declines', but 'in umeros rapit orbis Cassiepam *declinem*'.

No wonder then that I have found much to correct, although I cannot pretend to have made a special study of Germanicus.

65, 6  
haud p  
non ill

This  
thelabo  
says no  
cause i  
o'ris  
ō'ris  
'expert  
nomin  
Manil.  
sibi con  
an att  
manicu  
12 cog  
change  
illi am  
ulli: 'l  
laboris.  
unde fo

129,  
quaeren  
artibus

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upon th  
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VITIS a  
age arr  
demers

176,  
quamli  
et capu

patul  
editors  
rightly  
sentenc

65, 66.

haud procul effigies inde est defecta labore.  
non illi nomen, non magni causa laboris.

This is a bold and strange assertion, that the labour of Engonasin has no cause. Aratus says nothing of the kind; he says that its cause is unknown: 64 sq. εἰδωλον, τὸ μὲν οὐ τις ἐπίσταται ἀμφαδὸν εἰπεῖν | οὐδ' ὅτι νιν κρέματα κείνος πόνω, Auien. 173 sq. 'expertem quam quondam dixit Aratus | nominis, et cuius latuit quoque causa laboris', Manil. i 315 'nixa uenit species genibus, sibi conscia causae.' *magni* therefore is only an attempt at correcting *agni*, and Germanicus wrote non cognita causa laboris, 12 cognoscere O, agnoscere Z. But this change, though necessary in itself, renders *illi* ambiguous, so Dr Postgate corrects *ulli*: 'non ulli nomen, non cognita causa laboris.' In the line above the MSS have *unde* for *inde*.

129, 130.

quaerenda est sedes nobis noua, saecula uestra  
artibus indomitis tradam scelerique cruento.

With these words Astraea turns her back upon the silver age. *artibus* no more means vices (malis artibus) than virtues (in 111 is *sinceris artibus*); nor can *indomitis* invest it with that meaning, because this is an adjective no less applicable to virtue than to vice. If on the other hand *artibus* means the arts of civilisation, then it cannot be linked to such an adjective as *indomitis* at all. Auienus however found this reading and understood it thus: he writes 329 sqq. 'sollertia uobis | peruigil, arte noua uitam traducere mos est, | omne aeuum studiis excudit'. Therefore in the fourth century the verse was already corrupt; and why not? even in the first century *Poenigenam* had supplanted *Phoebigenam* at Verg. Aen. vii 773. Side by side with *sceleri cruento* and linked with *indomitis* we expect no such word as *artibus*, but rather this:

indomitis uitiis tradam scelerique cruento.

UITIIS absorbed by MITIS. In 133 the copper age arrives 'nec iam | semina uirtutis uitiis demersa resistent.'

176, 177.

quamlibet ignarum caeli sua forma docebit  
et caput et patulas naris et cornua Tauri.

*patulas*, which Grotius and the other editors change to *patulae*, Mr Breysig rightly retains; but he punctuates the sentence so that it cannot be construed: I

have removed the comma at the end of 176. 'The head and nostrils and horns of the Bull will be rendered plain to the veriest tiro in astronomy by their mere configuration': *sua*, standing in agreement with the subject of the verb, refers to the verb's objects *caput* and *naris* and *cornua*. This usage (Oa. fast. vi 413 'aqua sua ripa coeret') is so common that I am surprised at the trouble it causes: even Bentley at Manil. ii 72 alters 'nec *sua* dispositos seruarent sidera cursus' (i.e. dispositi cursus *sua* sidera desiderarent, acciperent aliena) to *uaga*.

246, 247.

Piscis, qui respicit auras

Threicias, dextram Andromedae cernetur ad  
ulnam.

So Grotius and the editors. But Aratus 246 sq. says truthfully 'Ἀνδρομέδης δὲ τοι ὤμος ἀριστερὸς Ἰχθύος ἔστω | σῆμα βορειοτέρου, Eudoxus ap. Hipparch. i 2 13 ἡ Ἀνδρομέδα, τὸν μὲν ἀριστερὸν ὤμον ἔχουσα τὴν Ἰχθύων ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρὸς βορρᾶν, Cic. 18 'Andromedae laeua ex umero,' Auien. 557 sqq. 'ex umero Andromedae laeua . . . ulnae nam proximus iste *sinistrae*.' Hence Mr Maybaum p. 39 says 'nullo modo Germ. in hac re errare potuit. scribendum est *laeua*. correctura plane certa uidetur, si quidem ratio plus ualet quam litterae et librariorum stultitiae.' But hard as it is to believe that Germanicus wrote *dextram* when he meant *laeua*, it is harder still to imagine how a copyist could write *laeua* when *dextram* stared him in the face.<sup>1</sup>

Now all this while *cernetur* is not in the MSS; they have *cernuntur*. Write

Piscis, qui respicit auras

Threicias, a s t r a Andromedae cernantur ad  
ulnam.

*Piscis* is genitive; -as as shrank to -as, and *tra* suggested *dextram*. I do not even write *cernuntur*: compare 722 'Eridani et primos deprendat nauita fontes,' σκάψαιτό κε Arat. 729. For *ulnam* alone = ὤμος ἀριστερός compare 282 *iuxta ulnam* = κατὰ δεξιὰ χειρός, 169 *umero* = σκαίῳ ὤμῳ. There is no more need to say of the Fish on which side of Andromeda he lies than to say it of the Ram, 231 'zonae regione...Andromedae,' Arat. 229.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Maybaum is equally precipitate at Cic. 188 'Arcturo magnum spatium supero dedit orbe | Iuppiter; huic *paruum* inferiore in parte locauit'; *paruum* is the opposite of the sense required, so he writes *magnum*; I write *par*.

## 270-274.

quin etiam Lyra Mercurio dilecta, deorum  
multum accepta epulis, caelo nitet ante  
labore  
deuictam effigiem, † planta erectaque dextra  
tempora laeua premit torti subiecta  
Draconis.

[summa genus subuorsa tenet qua se Lyra  
uoluit].

274, whether you read *subuorsa* or *sub-  
mersa*, is senseless here and answers to no-  
thing in Aratus: Grotius therefore puts it  
after 627, where it makes sense and answers  
to Arat. 614 sq. I should place it one line  
lower, after 628: that passage will then  
stand thus:

627 nixa genu species flexo redit ardua  
crure.

628 partibus haud aliis nocte eluctata  
suprema

274 summa genus subuorsa tenet qua se  
Lyra uoluit.

= μόνον δ' ἐπὶ Χηλαὶ ἄγουσι | δεξιτερὴν κνήμην  
αὐτῆς ἐπιγυνιδὸς ἄχρῃ | αἰεὶ γνῶξ αἰεὶ δὲ Λύρη  
παρὰ πτερῶτος: in English 'the shank on  
which Engonasin kneels rises with Libra,  
but the rest of him has not yet struggled  
forth from the borders of invisibility (*nox* in  
astronomical writers, e.g. 695, often means  
that part of the heaven which we cannot  
see), and he keeps his inverted thigh along-  
side of Lyra,' which has not yet risen. Now to  
come back to 272 sq., where the conjectures  
of others are so violent that I am absolved  
from mentioning them: I suppose two  
hemistichs to have changed places and *cui* to  
have been then lost after *-em*.

deuictam effigiem, torti subiecta Draconis  
tempora laeua premit *cui* planta, erectaque  
dextra.

'whose left foot treads the Serpent's head  
beneath it, and whose right hand is held  
aloft.' Aratus indeed at verse 70, and Eu-  
doxus also, say that it is the *right* foot, but  
Hipparchus i 2 6 and 4 9 contradicts them,  
τὸν γὰρ ἀριστερὸν ἔχει πόδα ὁ Ἐγγόνασιν ἐπὶ  
τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Δράκοντος καὶ οὐ τὸν δεξιόν,  
and Germanicus as usual follows Hipparchus,  
69 'Serpentis capiti figit uestigia laeua.' For  
*erecta dextra* see Auién. 191 sq. 'en manus  
ipsa dei uiolenta in uerba pendens | *erigi-  
tur*,' Hygin. astr. ii 6 'dextra manu sublata.'  
With the coordination 'premit . . . erec-  
taque' compare 137 sq. 'deseruit . . . et  
sortita,' 318 sq. 'rapuit . . . et appositus':  
a very similar verse is Manil. v 552 'astrinx-  
ere pedes scopulis, iniectaue uincla.'

## 300-302.

tunc alii curuos prospectant litore portus  
inuentasque alii terras pro munere narrant,  
ast alii procul a terra iactantur in alto.

This is a foolish distribution, to say that  
some of the sailors look out for the land  
and others (who are not looking out) desery  
it. 'alii narrant' would be reasonable but  
not elegant: I hardly doubt that he wrote  
'inuentasque a c i e terras.'

## 318-320.

unguibus innocuis Phrygium rapuit Gany-  
meden.

et telo appositus custos, quo Iuppiter arsit  
in puero, luit excidio quem Troia furorem.

So the MSS, quite rightly: Grotius and  
the editors spoil the sense with *quom.* 'quo  
(telo) arsit in puero' = 'quod telum effecit  
ut in puero arderet': compare Hor. carm.  
i 27 12 'qua pereat sagitta.' Germanicus  
identifies the Arrow as one of Cupid's, and  
the Eagle, who carried Ganymede off, is ap-  
propriately set to guard it. 315 'incertum  
quo cornu missa Sagitta' is only a transla-  
tion of Aratus' ἀρεπ τόξου ('missore uacans'  
Cicero) and signifies that this arrow, unlike  
that of Sagittarius, has no bow belonging  
to it in the starry heavens.

## 356-359.

at procul expositam sequitur Nereia Pristis  
Andromedam. media est solis uia, cum tamen  
illa

terretur monstro pelagi, gaudetque sub axe  
diuerso posita et boreae uicina legenti.

There is no sense in saying that the  
north pole or the northern hemisphere  
(whichever *axis* means) selects or skirts  
(whichever *legit* means) the neighbourhood  
of the north wind; and *praelegit* comes in  
the next verse. Write 'boreae uicina (fem.  
sing.) r i g e n t i.' The north wind is icy,  
yet Andromeda rejoices to be near it, because  
so she is further from the Whale. The inter-  
mediate step was *regenti*. See frag. iii 14  
'truces uenti densa nix saepe rigeunt,' 28  
'rigor accedit uentis,' Auién. 711 'rigido  
aquiloni,' Manil. i 314 'proxima frigentis  
Arctos boreamque rigentem.' Now someone  
will propose *gelanti*.

## 405.

tum mihi siccentur substricto cornua uelo.

*spissentur* Grotius, which seems necessary:  
for the error compare frag. iv 29 *siccatis*  
MSS, *spissatis* Orelli, Petron. 134 *siccatis*

pauci, *spissatis* plerique. But then the words must be transposed, *substricto spissentur*.

426—427.

nec procul hinc Hydros trahitur, cui cauda  
superne  
Centaurum lucet.

As if either *lucet* or *superne* could govern the accusative! Write 'Centaurum *mulcet*.' The tail of Hydra just brushes the top of the Centaur's head: Cic. 218 'Centaurum leui *contingit* lubrica cauda.' See also ib. 56 'huic ceruix dextra *mulcetur* Aquari,' 88 '*mulcens* tremebundis aethera pinnis.'

443.

annosaeque uias tardus uix perficit orbis.

*annosae* Z, *annonas* O: probably *annosae*.

452, 453.

hi semper distant, illos communia signa  
committunt.

Grotius understands *signa* to mean *puncta*, mathematical points. This is not necessary: Germanicus means that the equator and the ecliptic intersect one another at the constellations of Aries and Libra, both which zodiacal signs, as he has said at 232 sq. and will say again at 502 and 507, are also equatorial.

482—485 (he has described the tropic of Cancer and is coming to that of Capricorn).

hic boreae propior, contrarius excipit austros;  
Aegoceros metas hiemis glacialibus austris  
aestatisque tenet flagrantia sidera Cancer.  
hoc medium sidus findit deuior orbis.

Here Grotius saw one difficulty: *hoc sidus* in 485, which ought to mean Capricorn, cannot help meaning Cancer: he therefore made 483 and 484 change places, and Mr Breysig follows him. But the *que* of 483 is then impossible (Mr Breysig says it means *somit*) and *aestatis retinet* is required. Now come the difficulties which Grotius did not see. How can it be said of the tropic of Capricorn, a mathematical line, length without breadth, that it is fanned by the south wind, 'excipit austros'? Why the repetition *austros . . . austris*? and is the south wind more 'glacial' than the north? What manner of antithesis is '*hiemis metas*' and '*aestatis sidera*'? I had made the following corrections before I noticed that *sidere* 484 is in one MS and *flagranti* or *fraglanti* in three; but the fact is very important, because a scribe would much more readily

alter ablative to accusative than accusative to ablative immediately after a transitive verb:

483 Aegoceros metas hiemis glacialibus  
astris

484 aestatisque tenet flagranti  
sidere Cancer:

482 hic boreae propior, contrarius excipit  
austros.

485 hoc medium sidus findit deuior orbis.

*aestatis*, like *hiemis*, depends on *metas*: *contrarius* 482 and *hoc sidus* 485 both signify, as they ought, the constellation Capricorn: Arat. 501 sq. ἀντιώωντα νότῳ μέσον Αἰγοκερῆα  
| τέμνει.

526—529.

in sex signiferum si quis diuiserit orbem  
aequalis partes, succumbet regula binis  
inferior signis, spatii tantumque tenebit,  
*lunatus lateris* quantum a tellure recedit.

*una tui* O, *una suis* Z. I present these lines emended. That Germanicus did not place them here in his phenomena is evident from the abruptness of '*signiferum orbem*'; but they contain nothing unworthy of Germanicus except the corruption in 529, where Grotius' conjecture '*tenebit una, sui lateris*' is useless and even senseless. They answer to Arat. 541—3, Cic. 313—6, Manil. i 552—5 and Auién. 1034—45, and their meaning is as follows. If you inscribe a hexagon within the circle of the zodiac, each of the six chords thus formed will subtend an arc of the circumference containing two constellations or their equivalent (two twelfths of the circle), and will be equal in length to a line drawn from the earth (the centre of the circle) to the curvature of the circumference, *lunatus lateris*. The words *latus* and *regula* are used again at 188 and 191 to signify mathematical lines. The substantive *lunatus* is not in the lexicons, and many of these verbal nouns are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, *mac-tatus* for instance and *affectus*.

543—545.

te quoque, fecundam meteret cum cominus  
hydram

Alcides, ausum morsu contingere bello  
sidere donauit, Cancer, Saturnia Juno.

For *bello* Orelli writes *chelae*, a friend of his proposes *talum*. Mr Breysig says on p. xxvii 'Germanicus u. 544 Cancerum sidus dixit bellum.' Why not say 'Germanicus Cancrī morsum dixit bellum'? Both expressions, *morsu bello* and *bello sidere*, are so superlatively absurd that I cannot imagine



what has determined Mr Breysig's choice between them. And his eagerness to acquiesce in the intolerable has made him neglect his favourite 'auctoritas optimorum librorum'. O has not *morsu* but *morsus*; and 'ausum *morsus* contingere bello' is quite defensible; *morsus bello* = *bello per morsum inlato*. That Germanicus wrote it I do not aver: my faith is not pinned, as Mr Breysig fancies his own is, to O, which here has *ausus* wrongly for *ausum*; and I think it just as likely that the true reading is 'ausum *morsu* contingere *uolle*' (Oa. met. x 132 'uolle mori statuit'): conversely at Manil. ii 571 'inque odium generet partus et mutua *uolle*' I should write *bella*. But at least our eyes ought not to be violated by suggestions that Germanicus applied the adjective *bellus* to a constellation; unless indeed it is maintained that a man who would marry Agrippina was capable of anything.

584, 585.

altus Athos uel Cyllene uel candidus Haemus,  
Gargaron aut Ide superisue habitatus  
Olympus.

This disagreeable asyndeton is introduced by Grotius' conjecture *Ide*: the MSS have *iden* and *idens*, and what we want is not a substantive but an adjective: *ingens*. Similarly in frag. iii 6 I should write 'at Geminis leuiter *perstringunt* caerulea uenti' because I cannot understand a man inventing or even adopting such a word as *perstridunt* when he might say *stridunt per*: and at Manil. iii 307 I propose 'quod medius recto *praeciditur* ordine mundus' (see i 634) instead of *praecingitur*, which is not defended by i 257, 576, 653.

607-609.

tota Iouis mersa est pennis stellantibus Ales  
quique genu posito defessus conditur undis  
crure tenus.

The construction is 'isque, qui genu posito defessus conditur undis, crure tenus mersus est': *crure tenus* contrasts with *tota*. Baehrens alters *quique* to *ipse*, which is improbable; Mr Breysig puts a comma after *defessus*, which is impossible.

619-622.

sublimior Hydra feretur  
Creterra tenus et surgent aplustria puppis  
Argoae totusque Canis; sed cum pia Virgo  
nascitur, illa ratis media plus arbore lucet.

Mr Maybaum, whom I am glad to praise when I can, very justly says on p. 47

'uehementer displicet *sed* cum pia Virgo nascitur.' nam quae antecedunt ipsa referuntur ad ortum incipientem Virginis (612 accipe quae uident exorsae Virginis ora). necessarie flagitatur aliquid, quod *totam* Virginem ortam esse significet. cf. Arat. 605 sq. ἡ δὲ θέα γαίης ἰστέον διχόσωσα κατ' αὐτόν, | Παρθένος ἥμος ἃ π α σ α πεπαύθειν ἀπὲ γένητας, Cic. 391 'cum iam *toto* processit corpore Virgo', Auien. 1127 'cum iam uirgineos aether uehit *altior* artus.' expectes e sententia *nata est tota, ratis*, etc.' To this objection Mr. Winterfeld, who in Herm. xxx pp. 557 sqq. has well defended 'media plus arbore' as meaning 'mainmast and all,' replies that 'cum pia Virgo nascitur' means 'wenn die Jungfrau ansteigt.' But it cannot; *nascitur* in astronomy always means 'aufgeht' and not 'ansteigt'; it is a synonym of *eurgit* and *oritur*: so in 605 and 715, Auien. 1027, 1167, 1293, 1314, 1588, Manil. ii 791, 940, iii 403, 483, 537 (read *caeli nascentis ab ora: horae* mss), 603, 608, iv 518, v 219, 634, Luc. iii 231, vi 336, Verg. buc. viii 17, 'Virgo nascitur' describes a process which lasts about two hours and a half, beginning when Leo has finished rising, and ending when Libra begins to rise. At the commencement of the process, when Virgo 'nascitur *ore*,' the 'aplustria' of Argo appear; at the end of the process, when Virgo 'nascitur *pede*,' Argo is visible as far as the mast:

p e d e cum pia Virgo  
nascitur, illa ratis media plus arbore lucet.

e absorbed by c<sup>1</sup> and p corrupted to s. This last error is not so common in Germanicus as it is in Auienus, but see 74 *lappum* O, *lassum* Z, 412 and 527 p omitted after s. For 'pede nascitur' compare 596 'occulitur pedibus,' Auien. 1138 'pede proferat ortum.' I had also thought of this:

sed, cum pia Virgo  
nascitur i p s a, Ratis media plus arbore lucet.

For *ipsa* signifying the main body of a constellation as opposed to a part of it see Cic. 403 sq. 'hic *genus et suram* cum Chelis erigit alte, | *ipse* autem praecipis obscura nocte tenetur.' But *ipsa* next to *ratis* is a trifle ambiguous, and so would *ima* be.

632-635. Aratus says, 618-23, that the right leg of Engonasin rises with Libra, his trunk with Scorpius, his head and left hand

<sup>1</sup> Auien. 136 sq. 'Sidoniis *ducel* Cynosura carinis: | rector undoso cursu sulcatur in aestu,' *dux est* Aldus: write 'Sidoniis *duce* te, Cynosura, Carinis | rector' etc.



with Sagittarius. Cicero 403—7 says the same thing, and so does Auienus very briefly and clearly in 1146—8: 'haec sidus reuebunt: Chelae crus, Scorpius ipse | cetera cum medio, laeuam et caput oraue sursum | Arcus agit': Mr Winterfeld has been beforehand with me in restoring this punctuation. The MSS of Germanicus give these verses:

crure simul chelae fulgent cum scorpios exit  
iam (*al. tam, al. tum*) totis radiat membris  
miserabile sidus  
at cum tantus abit quantum lyra surgit ab  
undis  
argospia suo caelo refertur imago.

To quote all the conjectures would be endless and useless: I take the readings of Grotius and of Mr Breysig. Grotius makes something which might be sense if *abit* meant the opposite of what it does mean:

632 crure simul Chelae fulgent; cum Scorpius exit,  
634 *haud cunctatus* abit; cum Chiron surget  
ab undis  
635 *Arcusque ipsa pio caelo referetur* imago,  
633 iam totis radiat membris miserabile  
sidus.

Mr Breysig makes pure nonsense:

crure simul Chelae fulgent; cum Scorpius  
exit,  
*non* totis radiat membris miserabile sidus;  
at, cum *tantum aberit*, quantum Lyra surgit  
ab undis,  
*Arcus ipsa* suo caelo referetur imago.

Gibberish is the only fit title for the third of these lines: it designates no posture of the heavenly bodies whatsoever: it designates nothing. I pass over the minor absurdity of *non totis*. Germanicus wrote:

632 crure simul Chelae fulgent; cum Scorpius exit,  
635 *tergo obstipa* suo caelo profertur imago;  
634 at, *Philyra* cum *natus auitis* surgit ab  
undis,  
633 iam totis radiat membris miserabile  
sidus.

*suo* in 635 of course agrees with *tergo*. 634 must once have worn this shape:

at si lyra cum tantus abitisurgit ab undis,  
which was reduced to metre by transposition omission and insertion: *quantum* was suggested by *tantus*. For the caesura see 23,442.

One point remains obscure. Some writers, as Sen. Thy. 861 and Luc. ix 536, identify Sagittarius with Chiron, who was as everyone knows the son of Philyra and the grandson of Oceanus. Germanicus however elsewhere identifies Sagittarius with Crotus and Chiron with the Southern Centaur, and he calls that Centaur by the name of Chiron in this same context, verse 637. Now Crotus, like Chiron, was a grandson of Oceanus, for the scholia (Breysig ed. 1 pp. 90 and 159) call him 'Oceani nepos' on the authority of Nigidius; but his mother's name is generally given as Eupheme. Whether others held Philyra to be his mother, or whether Germanicus, having read in Nigidius' astronomical works that Crotus and Chiron were both grandsons of Oceanus, jumped to the conclusion that they were both sons of Philyra, I cannot determine. Philyra has other sons than Chiron: Hyginus mentions Dolops, Suidas makes her the mother of Aphrus king of Libya.

640, 641.  
abdit et Andromeda uultus et maxima  
Pristis  
occasu insequitur uenientis et uirginis ora.

'metuentis uirginis' Orelli: rather *uementi* or perhaps *uementei*: at Plaut. rud. 71 Arcturus says '*uehemens* sum exoriens, cum occido *uehementior*.' In Catull. 63 10 the MSS have *tauri et* and Lachmann restores *taurei*: in 708 sq. our MSS have '*iam Plias* ab undis | effugit et dextro *tauri* et cognoscitur armo' and perhaps we ought to read *taurei* too, though Dahms may be right with *taurus*.

644, 645.  
Scorpius exoriens, quam clarus fugerit  
Amnis,  
Scorpius Oriona fugat, pauet ille sequentem.

Grotius alters *quam* to *quum* for the sake of sense; but the repetition of *Scorpius* has no point: write '*non prius* exoriens, *quam*.'

650—652.

deuotus poenae tunc impius ille futurae  
nudabatque feris angusto stipite siluas  
pacatamque Chion dono dabat Oenopioni.

*angusto* MSS, *ambusto* Orelli: 'at cf. Thiele, Antike Himmelsbilder p. 48' says Mr Breysig. Thither I turn, and read that Orion '*den stipes angustus*, d.h. das schmale Pedum, auf allen Aratos illustrierenden bildlichen Darstellung führt.' *angustus* no more means

*gracilis* than *laxus* means *crassus*. *angustus stipes* is a cudgel affording insufficient room for a colony of white ants which have eaten it hollow. I conjecture *augustas*: see Auien. 1180 sqq. 'cum *sacrata* Chii *nemora* et *frondentia* late | *brachia* *lucorum*, cum *silvae* colla *comasque* | *devotae* *tibimet* (Diana) manus *impia* demolita est, | *audax* ut *facinus* donum foret Oenopioni.' When the *s* was lost the change of gender was inevitable.

Frag iii, containing twenty-eight verses, is preserved only by Z; frag. iv, containing 163, only by O. The editors do not perceive that these two fragments are one, and that no gap intervenes between the last verse of iii and the first of iv. In iii Germanicus tells us what effect each sign of the zodiac has upon the weather; he then adds that the planets modify these effects in their passage through the signs, and that Saturn always, in every sign, makes the weather dull. In iv he proceeds to say that Jupiter creates different effects in different signs, and so does Mars; Venus and Mercury are still more diverse in their influence, because they vary according as they are morning or evening stars. Nothing is missing. I will print the verses containing the junction:

iii 23 haec ut quisque deus possedit numine  
signa,  
adiungunt proprias vires. torpere videntur  
omnia Saturno: rarus ille exprimit ignes  
et siccas hiemes adstrictis perficit undis.  
grandine durantur pluviae, niue grandio  
putrescit,  
28 et rigor accedit uentis, *lentissimus* ille,  
iv 1 Juppiter est illo laetus magis. hic ubi  
Solis  
uitauit flammās, etc.

I have only written *lentissimus* instead of *mitissimus*, which is so absurd an epithet for Saturn, especially after 'rigor accedit uentis,' that it must be altered in any case. *uentis* absorbed *lentis*: *tristissimus* and *maestissimus* are not so likely.

iv 12-14.

et Leo terribilis sub te, pater, ipse repellit  
instantis morbos et Ditis limina cludit.  
incipit agricolis in Virgine soluere uota.

*incipit*, which is due to *repellit* and *cludit*, must be *incipis*: the return to the third person is managed at 18 by means of a new vocative, 'tua, Liber, munera condit.' To cure the similar anomaly in phaen. 32-35 Schmid and Lachmann alter *uos* 32 to *eas*,

which Haupt calls necessary: it would be easier (I mean what I say) to write *fouistis* 35 for *fouerunt*: at 39 the third person is regained by means of the proper names 'Helice Cynosuraque.'

iv 21-24.

Hydrochoon Piscesque agitat saeuissimus  
idem,  
si statuit currus quocumque in sidere fessos.  
Lanigero tonat et Poeni per terga Leonis  
omniaque hibernis permiscet mensibus astra.

That is: the planet Jupiter causes tempests in Aquarius and Pisces, supposing that he comes to a halt in either (*quocumque* must mean *utrolibet*) of those signs. But we have not yet been told what weather he causes there when he does not come to a halt. Then follows the information that he creates thunderstorms in Aries and Leo. But his doings in Aries and Leo have already been related in 3-6 and 12 sq. Therefore the punctuation must be altered:

Hydrochoon Piscesque agitat saeuissimus  
idem.  
si statuit currus quocumque in sidere fessos,  
Lanigero tonat, etc.

In Aquarius and Pisces he causes tempests. Supposing he comes to a halt in any of the twelve signs already enumerated, the result is thunder if the sign be Aries or Leo, wintry weather in every sign without exception. The literal translation of 24 is 'he confounds all the signs alike with months of a wintry sort,' instead of allowing them to preside over months of seasonable weather: bruma assidua atque alienis mensibus hiemps, in fact. For *quicumque* thus used compare Prop. ii 1 15, Cic. Phil. xii 13.

iv 31-33.

his idem lentos signis cum supprimet ignis  
Belliger, et nigra cursus statione tenebit,  
tum crebro magnus tonitru pulsabitur  
aether.

Do the editors imagine that Germanicus is talking about *eclipses*, forsooth, of the planet Mars? and that *nigra* (not *atra*) *statio* can mean an eclipse? *statio* is *σσηκνμός*, the halting of the planet: Vitruvius uses the same term in the astronomical chapters of his ninth book, while Cicero Tusc. i 62 translates the Greek by *institio*. 'lentos supprimet ignes' means not 'quench his fire' but 'bring his fiery orb to a standstill'; and a *statio* is not *nigra* but *pigra*. So 22 'statuit currus

...fessos,' ii 19 sq.<sup>1</sup> 'nunc igne citato (compare *lentos ignis*) | festinare putes, nunc pigro sidere somno.' At phaen. 294 the MSS are divided between *pigra* and *nigra*.

iv 64, 65.

glomerata cadet quam densa per astras  
immitis grando.

aethram Grotius, austros Ellis: write  
a u r a s : u = it = st, see on 152 below.

iv 70—76.

umidus at gelidos portendit Aquarius imbris,  
hibernaeque cadunt pluuiæ concretaeque  
grando

Piscibus a geminis, ubi prima recurrit  
in astra.

Phosphoros haec tibi signa dabit cum  
lucifera Aurora

ingrediens Venus alma polum; sed, ubi  
Hesperos ignes

prouocat aetherios et noctem inducere  
terris

incipit, exoriens haec te Cytherea monebit.

72 I have closed with a full stop, and have written *recurrit* for the *recurrat* and *recurrat* of the MSS, (at 97 all MSS have *detrabit* for *detrahet*): 'rain and hail descend from Pisces when Venus is making her way back to the first sign of the zodiac,' i.e. when she is passing through Pisces towards Aries. The subject of *recurrit* is *Cythereius ignis* in 69 and not *Aquarius* in 70: for this negligence compare 17 sq., 100 sqq., 155 sq.

In 73 the MSS have *lucifer*: I have doubled the letter *a*. There is no reason why all the editors should alter *Aurora*: the last syllable is elided as in *Lucr.* v 849, *Verg. georg.* i 293, *Aen.* vii 160. The form *Eo* does not seem to exist. The sense of 73—76 is this: 'the above are the indications which Venus will give you when, as morning star, she rises with daybreak; but when, as evening star, she ushers in the darkness, she will give you the following monitions at her rising.' *Phosphoros* is in apposition with *Venus* and *Hesperos* with *Cytherea*.

<sup>1</sup> Because Baehrens discovered these verses (ii 17—20) Mr Breysig desires to believe that they are spurious, just as he does with *frag. v*; so he says (p. xxviii) that they mean the same as verses 8 and 9 above them. They do not. Verses 8 and 9 distinguish between the proper motion of the sun and moon and planets through the zodiacal signs from west to east and their diurnal motion about the earth from east to west in common with all the heaven. Verses 19 and 20 refer to the periodical acceleration and retardation of the former of these two motions.

iv 78—81

Phrixæa rutilo pecudis radiauerit astro,  
nubila commixtusque fragor pluuiabilibus  
undis

flaminaque assiduo terris instantia pulsu  
et dirae caelo deiecti grandinis ictus.

No construction. In 79 the oldest MS has *cum mixtusque*: write 'nubila erunt mixtusque' etc.

iv 97—99,

detrahet autumnno pluuias eademque replebit  
nubibus adsiduis caelum ob (*al. ad*) frigore  
primo (*al. ma*)

extremum autumnni superent glacia terrore.

These verses describe or should describe the effects of Venus in the autumnal sign of Libra. Libra's name is nowhere to be seen, so Grotius, with many other changes, alters *caelum* to *Chele* (it should be *Chelae*); Baehrens writes '*sub frigore primo*, | *extremum autumnni superans glaciante rigore*': both he and Grotius treat *extremum autumnni* as if it were *extremum autumnum*. Mr Breysig adopts Baehrens' reading except *superans* and assumes a lacuna before 99. I propose

detrahet autumnno pluuias eademque replebit  
nubibus adsiduis, Chelae dum frigore  
primo

extremum autumnni superent glaciante  
tempore.

See *Lucr.* vi 371 sq. 'et calor extremus primo cum frigore mixtus | uoluitur, autumnni quod fertur nomine tempus'. The *ob* and *ad* of 98 I derive from *ab*, an attempt, by a scribe who did not mind hiatus, to give the verse its complement of syllables when *cedum* had shrunk to *celum*.

iv 100—103.

Scorpios at raris, ne quid caua terra graetur,  
horrebit pluuiis. at diris omnia nimbis

continuisque ruet, cum per sinuosa feretur  
cornua Centauri.

So the MSS, *omnia...ruet*, and quite rightly: Venus (for she is the subject; see on 72 above) will beat everything flat with storms of rain, sterner sata laeta boumque labores. No need to write *ruent* with Schwartz.

iv 110, 111.

est quoniam certis tratiuiam cognita signis,  
accipe quid moneat mundo Cyllenius ignis.

The sense must be: since you have heard all about Venus, now hear about Mercury. 'Veneris stella' is in the preceding verse 109: write then

est quoniam certis ea iam tibi cognita  
signis.

= ea tui iam.

iv 130—136.

idem ubi consurget *Capricorni* sede biformis,  
aut subito caelo deducet crebrius imbres  
fulminis aut iactu magnum perrumpet Olym-  
pon.  
nulla serenato *Capricornus* nubila caelo  
comparat, at gelidos flatus caelique fragores  
non alio melius signo praedicere possis,  
*Piscibus* haec eadem quamvis cognoscere  
detur.

See how attentively Germanicus is read :  
*Capricornus* twice over, *Aquarius* nowhere,  
and not a word from the editors. Write

nulla serenato *Phryx* rorans nubila  
caelo  
comparat,

that is *pricarorans*: the confusion of *x* and *a* is so well illustrated by Gronovius obs. iv c. 4 that I need add nothing, except that these MSS have *ea* for *ex* at phaen. 122. *Aquarius* is *Ganymede*: Manil. v 487 sqq. 'nunc *Aquilae* sidus referam, quae parte sinistra | rorantis iuuenis, quem terris sustulit ipsa, | fertur.'

iv 137—139.

quandoquidem exoritur ignis quoque *Cyllen-*  
eus  
quid faceret primo docui cum lumine solis,  
tempus et occasu moueat quid discere *Phoebi*.

The sense must be: since I have told you what Mercury effects as a morning star, now learn what he effects as an evening star. It is not clear that either Mr Ellis (noct. Manil. p. 247) or Mr Breysig is aware of this, for they both retain *occasus* in 139; but Mr Ellis has proposed and Mr Breysig has accepted an emendation of 137 which is certainly much better than any proposed hitherto: they alter *ignis quoque Cylleneus* into *quotiens Cyllenius ignis*. It is however a slighter change to write

ex oriens ignis modo *Cyllenaeus*.

modo *exoriens*, 'just risen.' Thus the close of this passage recalls the opening,

111 sqq. 'accipe quid moueat mundo  
*Cyllenius ignis* | si modo *Phoebei* flammam  
effugerit axis, | matutina ferens solitos per  
sidera cursus.' The interchange of *m* with *q*; is not uncommon, Ou. her. xvi 375, trist. v 3 52, ex Pont. i 8 65, Prop. ii 26 44. The corruption of *-ens* through *-us* to *-tur* is a possible accident (see phaen. 588 *uentus* MSS for *ueniens*); but I think it more likely that the participle was altered into the finite verb by some scribe who was puzzled by the construction. The construction, as Orelli says, is an hyperbaton, 'quando quidem, exoriens ignis modo *Cyllenaeus* | quid faceret primo, docui, cum lumine solis, | tempus et, occasu moueat quid, discere, *Phoebi*' = quandoquidem docui, quid faceret mane, tempus est discere etiam, quid uesperis moueat. In Germanicus, as in most other authors, similar examples can be found: phaen. 595 'Aetophylax, lumine, qui, primo cum *Scorpios* occidit undis, occultitur pedibus' (qui occultitur cum *Scorpios* lumine primo occidit), 573 'saepe uelis, quantum superet, cognoscere, noctis,' whence in Manil. iv 882 write 'quanta, et, pars superet, ratione ediscere, noctis,' *superest* MSS.

The Latin for Κυλληναῖος (Arat. 597) is *Cyllenaeus*, though all the editors I have consulted print 'Pheneum *Cylleneum*' at Catull. 68 109, 'fide *Cyllenea*' at Hor. epod. 13 9, 'testudine *Cyllenea*' at Ou. art iii 147 and 'uertice *Cylleneo*' at met. xi 304: at Aui. 1116 they give the correct form 'Ira *Cyllenaea*.' Latin MSS have little authority when the question is between *ae* and *e*.

iv 151—154.

flatibus at gelidis miscet tranquilla serena  
spicifera dea *mita* manu, nec *Libra tendenti*  
dissentit diuinae, sed, ut haec, uentura serena  
nuntiat

*mita* A, *nula* SM, *nuda* (a conjecture) P. Write *iusta*, corrupted to *iuista* just as *stella* at 44 is corrupted to *itella* and conversely *auras* at 64 through *aitras* to *astras*. The Virgin is *Astraea* or *Iustitia* and is called 'iustissima uirgo' phaen. 137.

*tendenti* is altered by Iriarte and subsequent editors into *metenti*: it is at once easier and more pointed to write *tendenti*; the Balance is not at odds with the goddess who carries it, *Astraea* or *Virgo*. Ancient coins and calendars sometimes put *Libra* in the hand of a male or female figure, the latter apparently *Iustitia*: see Thiele, Antike Himmelsbilder p. 71.

v 5—8.

uentos et flamina cuncta  
 Aeolus in partes diuisi rettulit orbis,  
 quo premeret boreas, notus unde attolleret  
 imbres,  
 quaque eurus zephyrusque domo procederet  
 undis.

For *quo* Baehrens conjectures and Breysig accepts *qua*, quite wrongly. *quo* matches *unde* just as *premeret* matches *attolleret*, and *premeret*, like *attolleret*, governs *imbres*: 'whither Boreas drives the rainclouds down and whence Notus drives them up,' i.e. what is the direction of the winds called Boreas and Notus. The north wind is said *premere* and the south *attollere* because the north pole is overhead and the south pole is underfoot.

vi.

cur diuite lingua  
 Graecia praecurram potiusque triangula  
 dicam?

Unconstruable. *Graeca parum cures* Lachmann Lucr. p. 193, abolishing the note of interrogation and intending some such words as 'haec causa est' to precede; for it is plain that Germanicus never asked why he *should* use *triangula* in lieu of *ῥήγωνα*: if he asked anything he asked why he should *not*. I conjecture as a much easier change

quid nite diuite lingua,  
 Graecia, praecurram potiusque triangula  
 dicam?

*dnite* absorbed by *diuite* and *qui* mistaken for *qur*.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

## THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF CICERO'S PHILIPPICS.

Our knowledge of the *Philippics* is derived from two sources.

(1) The Vaticanus (*V*), written in the ninth century. This MS., which belongs to the library of the Chapter of St. Peter's (H 25), has been collated by Faernus, Muretus, and Garatoni among earlier scholars, by C. Bursian and O. Ribbeck for Halm, and more recently by Ströbel. I have myself spent some time over it, though with little result, except to realise more clearly the remarkable ignorance of the writer. No glimmer of intelligence appears amid his errors, and, but for such a passage as xiii. 6, where for *seiuungamus tamen* he reads *seiuungamus amen*, he shows no knowledge even of ecclesiastical Latin. Frequently *i* is prefixed to words beginning with *s*, e.g. *istudium*, *ispem*, etc., from which it has been inferred that the MS. was written in Spain. The confusion of *b* and *v* is constant, e.g. *bellet* (= *vellet*), *remobendum*, *boluntas*, etc. This is shared by the corrector (*V*<sup>2</sup>): thus we find *verbo*, *vos*, *verberavit*. A striking case is viii. 6 *verba nec bellica* <sup>*b*</sup> *verva nec bellica*. *P* and *f* are also often confused, e.g. *portasse* (= *fortasse*), *pulvius* (= *Fulvius*). The first hand frequently gives no sign for *-m*, e.g. *tuntu bellū* m. 1, *tantū bellū* m. 2. The spelling *quum* for *cum* is not infrequent, e.g. v. 36, 40, 47, 48. Often the words are not separated

at all for an entire line, and faulty divisions are extremely common. An error to which the scribe was particularly liable consists in writing a word too soon, e.g. *q. quarta* = *quartaque* v. 46 (cf. Müller *ad loc.*): *per ut haberi* = *ut haberi per* (*ib.*); or altering the order of the letters, e.g. *nonne* = *nomen* (v. 25), *maiestita* = *maestitia* (v. 38). The archetype of *V* was full of variants, which are continually combined in *V*, e.g. ii. 23

coniunctionise (i.e. *-nis*), 96 *uireis*, iii. 1 *postulabitvit*, 13 *possetint*, 22 *intellegitat*, vii. 4 *tolleitur*, viii. 31 *conveniendūi*, xi. 11 *vindicem is*, 19 *dignitatise*. Sometimes two variants follow each other, e.g. ii. 50 *alienis alieni*, iii. 16 *traxit tarzerat*, v. 5 *Cotyian an Cotyionem*, 28 *tum deinde...tum atque*, viii. 19 *ate antea*: sometimes one has been inserted in the wrong place, e.g. iii. 1 *contionibus et saepe et iure contentionibus*.

A striking case is viii. 9: dico, sed dicendum est. *Hasta* Caesaris, etc. Here *V* reads dico *ha* sed dicendum est *ista* Caesaris.

In the archetype *ista* must have been written.

These instances will show that *V* abounds in every kind of unconscious corruption, and that the extreme ignorance of the scribe must always be borne in mind. Halm frequently goes too far in founding an emendation upon a mechanical blunder in *V*.



(2) A number of MSS. belonging to what Halm terms the *D* group, all of which are descended from a *decurtatus*, or mutilated original. Although the readings of this family are generally inferior to those of *V*, they are often of equal antiquity. Indeed the citations made by grammatical and other writers agree more frequently with *D* than with *V*. The members of this family used by Halm are:—

- a*, Bambergensis, saec. xiii.
- b*, Bernensis, saec. xiv.
- g*, Gudianus, saec. xiii.
- t*, Tegernseensis, saec. xi.

Of these *t* is indisputably the best, while *ag* are the least trustworthy, especially *g*. The case of *b* is complicated, since, although it often agrees with *V* against the rest of *D*, and sometimes is right even against *V*, it has been boldly interpolated. A peculiarly instructive case is v. 30 *legatorum mentionem (nullam censeo faciendam, etc.)*. Here a large lacuna occurs in *D*, extending to vi. 18. The other members of *D* give *menti, mentem*, or *menti non* without sense: while *b* reads *mentio quis non videt quam alieno tempore nunc a vobis facta est*, a plausible supplement but for the inaccurate indicative (*est*). In *b* we have to be on our guard against the corrections of a competent critic.

Halm also notices a fifteenth century MS., lent to him by Henry Allen, which he calls *i*, and used whenever either *V* or *D* are deficient. He does not inquire into the pedigree or character of this MS. Müller remarks, 'cod. i. admodum parva est fides.' Nohl says that he imagines there are several MSS. like it, and that it appears to be a descendant of *a* corrected from *V*. The truth of Nohl's diagnosis, at which I arrived independently, is obvious. I have examined several MSS. belonging to this class.<sup>1</sup> They merely differ from *a* and allied MSS. (e.g. *ln*) in that they contain certain passages omitted by *D* and only found in *V*. Except in these passages they show no trace of the influence of *V*. It is therefore obvious that in these MSS. the lacunae of the *D* family have been filled up from *V*. They contain the *vulgata Italarum recensio* as constructed in the fifteenth century. Though many of their readings are found in old MSS. not used by Halm, they are tainted with conjecture, and possess no independent value. I term them *δ*.

<sup>1</sup> I have used Harl. 2687, a fifteenth century MS. to verify readings quoted by Halm from *i*. Some of Halm's readings are *proprii errores* of his MS.

Since 1856, the year in which Halm's edition was published, the criticism of the *Philippics* has tended to become stereotyped. No new MS. has been used by any critic, nor, with the exception of Strübel, who in 1889 published a valuable paper upon the second and third hands in *V*, has any one re-examined those previously collated. Editors quote from Halm, as if his MSS. were the only ones from which there is anything to be learnt: even *i*, which owes its position to the merest accident, has never had its credentials examined. I have myself, whilst preparing a text for the Clarendon Press series, thought it worth while to consult several MSS. belonging to the *D* family, and if the results seem inadequate to the labour involved, would point out (1) that nothing makes criticism so sterile as the neglect of MS. evidence, and (2) that in those portions of the later speeches where we have not the help of *V* it is of the highest importance to have studied the pathology of *D*, so as to know the forms of corruption to which they are most liable.

The fresh MSS. which I have used are:

(1) Paris. 5802 and 6602, both thirteenth century MSS. and Berolinensis codd. *Phil.*, 201, of the twelfth century. These three MSS., which contain only the first four of the *Philippics*, are closely akin. Their readings generally agree with those quoted by Ferrarius from his *Colotianus*, or *liber Angeli Colotii*, and I term their consensus *c*. An Oxford MS., Coll. Merton, cccxi. of the twelfth century, belongs to the same family for *Phil.* i-ii.

(2) British Museum, Regius 15. A. xiv., saec. xi. (early), which I term *l*.

(3) Oxford, Coll. Novi. CCLII., saec. xii., which I call *n*.

I have also looked at and collated in places, though with little profit, the well-known Harleianus 2682, saec. xi., the Coloniensis of Gulielmus and Graevius (*h*).

I proceed to give some account of these MSS.

#### I.—The familia Colotiana (*c*),

Ferrarius attached the greatest value to his Colotianus, calling it and his Langobardicus *duo vetustissimi atque ex omnibus minime mendosi*. Garatoni, whose judgments are always sound, couples it with *V*, saying

<sup>2</sup> This is the title given by Ferrarius in his preface. He afterwards terms it *Lang*. Halm by a curious error calls it *cod. Langii* (on xiii. 16), or *Langianus* (on xi. 35) and is followed by Müller.

*duo praestantissimi omnium codd. Vaticanus et Colotianus* (on *Phil.* iii., 16, cf. on §§ 30, 38), and it seems to have been so regarded before Halm, who quotes but rarely from it, while subsequent editors only know of it from Halm's citations. After collating these MSS. I do not hesitate to confirm the judgment of Ferrarius and Garatoni, and in *Phil.* i-iv. to set *c* at the head of the *D* group. I examined these MSS. in the following order:

(a) Paris, 5802. This is a beautiful MS. written in an Italian hand, and in the opinion of M. Omont belongs to the beginning of the thirteenth century. It bears on the first page the arms of the Sforza family, and once belonged to the library of the Visconti at Pavia.

This MS. is especially interesting since it once belonged to Petrarch and possesses a number of corrections in his hand. Its history and that of the Pavia MSS. is given at length by M. de Nollac and M. Delisle.<sup>1</sup> It also contains Suetonius, Eutropius, Frontinus, and the Tusculan Disputations. I term it *c*<sup>1</sup>.

(b) Paris, 6602, a small MS., also written in the thirteenth century, and containing, besides *Phil.* i-iv., the *de Officiis* and the speeches against Catiline. It has on the first page *est Leodegarii a Quercu*, i.e., Léger du Chesne, and *imo Marcilii*, i.e., Théodore Marville. M. Omont informs me that the hand in which it is written is characteristic of the Isle de France. I term it *c*<sup>2</sup>.

(c) Berol. codices Philippii, No. 201, twelfth century.<sup>2</sup> This MS. originally belonged to the Jesuit College of Clermont, in Paris, and was bought by Sir Thomas Phillips at the Meerman sale. It is fully described by Valentin Rose in his catalogue of the codices Philippii.<sup>3</sup> It also contains the poems of Rivallionius, Cicero de Legibus i-ii. and de Divinatione (imperfect). It once contained a portion of Petronius which was, however, torn out with three leaves of the *de Divinatione*, and now forms part of Paris, 8049. This MS. was lent to the Bodleian for my use through the great kindness of Dr. Wilmanns, the chief librarian of the Berlin Library. I term it *c*<sup>3</sup>, and denote the consensus of *c*<sup>1</sup>*c*<sup>2</sup>*c*<sup>3</sup> by *c*.

<sup>1</sup> De Nollac, *Pétrarche et l'Humanisme*, pp. 87 sqq., 203 sqq. Delisle, *Cabinet des MSS.* 1, 138-140.

<sup>2</sup> This MS. was looked at by Mr. Nutt while it was in the Phillips Collection. He gave a few of its readings in a letter to the *Academy*, May 9, 1885, which are quoted by Müller as those of *cod. Cheltenham*. I am not aware that any German scholar has collated it.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. MSS. once belonging to the Phillips collection.

(d) Oxon. Coll. Mert. 311, twelfth century. This MS. is written in an English hand. It belongs to the *familia Colotiana* in *Phil.* i. and ii. down to § 118, with the exception of ii. §§ 105, 106, which are in a different hand and agree with *ag*. The first hand left a blank for the addition of these sections, but over-estimated the space required for the insertion, so that nine lines are left blank after the insertion by a second hand. After ii. 118 the second hand goes on again and the MS. ceases to agree with *Colot*. There are traces of contamination in this MS. Thus i. 1 it reads *renovavi*, where *c*<sup>1</sup>*c*<sup>2</sup>*c*<sup>3</sup> have *revocavi*, and reads *sedandis discordiis usa fuerat*, where *c*<sup>1</sup>*c*<sup>2</sup>*c*<sup>3</sup> have *secundandis discordaverat*. I term it *c*<sup>4</sup>.

These four MSS. all come from one archetype, which was written by an Irish or Anglo-Saxon scribe. This is shown by their treatment of the word *autem*, which in it was represented by *h'*, the old-Irish symbol. The English scribe of *c*<sup>4</sup> often gives *au* correctly, and the writer of *c*<sup>3</sup> occasionally; in *c*<sup>1</sup> and *c*<sup>2</sup> there is the wildest confusion. Sometimes *h'* is given, sometimes *hoc*, *huius*, sometimes *#* (= enim), sometimes it is omitted altogether. I instance the following:

i. 12. *h' c*<sup>1</sup>, *h. c*<sup>2</sup>, *li c*<sup>3</sup>, *hoc c*<sup>4</sup>

ii. 9. *hoc c*<sup>1</sup>, *huius c*<sup>2</sup>, *h' (ante ras.) c*<sup>3</sup>, *h. c*<sup>4</sup>

38. *h' c*<sup>1</sup>, *h. c*<sup>2</sup>, *au c*<sup>3</sup>, *a' c*<sup>4</sup>

iii. 15. *enim c*<sup>1</sup>, *h. c*<sup>2</sup>, *au c*<sup>3</sup>*c*<sup>4</sup>.

In *c*<sup>3</sup> wherever the first hand gives *h'*, a corrector wrote *#* (i.e., enim), and then wrote *enim* in full to explain the symbol.

A point in common between *c*<sup>2</sup> and *c*<sup>3</sup> is that they contain the same scholia. Some of these are grammatical, e.g., 1. 10 N (= nota) distantiam habendi gratias et agendi, others serve as an analysis of the contents, e.g., 2. 55 turpissimum probrum in Antonium, quem comparat Helenae, while some contain information, e.g., 1. 5, Suetonius. solidam colupnam prope xx. pedum lapidis Numidici populus in foro statuit, 20. legionem Alaudarum. de hac Suetonius dicit legionem ex Transalpinis conscriptum vocabulo Gallico Alaudam appellavit, quam disciplina cultuque Romano institutum et ornatam postea universam civitate donavit.

The agreement of these MSS. with the *codex Colotianus* is constant. There are, however, a few cases of differences. Some of the variants given by Ferrarius are *proprii errores* of his MS. e.g., 2, 31 *actus* (auctus), 62, *eius* (egens). In others *Colot* agrees with one member of the group

against the others, e.g., 1, 13, *inviti secuti estis*  $c^1c^2c^4$ : *secuti estis inviti*  $c^3$  and *Colot.* 22, *quam . . . impelli*  $c^1c^2c^4$ : *quem . . . impellere* (*ex impelli*)  $c^3$  and *Colot.*: iii, 16, *Atinia*  $c^1c^3$ : *Attinia*  $c^2$ . There remain a few cases of difference, viz.

- ii. 105 *obsolefaciebant*  $c$ : *obsolescebant* *Colot.*
- 106 *et simul unum cinus*  $c$ : *sed tum nimis* *Colot.*
- 108 *sed ita absconditi*  $c$ : *sed ii absconditi* *Colot.*
- iv. 3 *omnium saeculorum*  $c$ : *omni saeculorum* *Colot.*

These must be considered peculiarities of *Colot.* and due to accident or corruption. Similar peculiarities are of course found in the other members of the family, e.g. ii. 1 for *mihi*  $c^3$  gives *aa* i.e. *anima* ( $\phi$   $c^1$ , *mihi*  $c^2c^4$ ). I regard it as an accident e.g. that in ii. 28  $c^2$  has *laudum* with *V*, while  $c^1c^2c^3$  agree in *laudum*, the reading of *D*. In a few cases the differences between the various members of the group testify to an obscurity in the archetype, e.g.

- 1, 15 *quae*, *malum*] *quae*  $c^2$ :  $q$  (*ex q*)  $c^3$ : *quod*  $c^1$ : *quam*  $c^4$ .

A very interesting case is

- 1, 37 (*vitam*) *A Hirti*]  $\grave{a}$  isti  $c^2$  (*h* has been erased before *i*): *abuti*  $c^4$ : \*\*\*\**h* i\*\*\*\*  $c^3$  (*h* has been erased after *vitam*): *om.*  $c^1$ .

Of these MSS. I am inclined to think  $c^2$  the most faithful, while  $c^1$  is the most agreeable to read;  $c^3$  and  $c^4$  are the oldest, but the reading of  $c^3$  has often been tampered with by a corrector, while  $c^4$  is mutilated, and is not free from contamination.

I now proceed to discuss the affinities of  $c$  with other MSS. The family is chiefly connected with  $b$  and *V*. There are a large number of agreements between *bc sol.* An interesting case is that in 1, 37  $b$  with  $c^1$  omits *A. Hirti*. Other agreements are 1, 31 *om. denique*, ii. 31 *puncto*, ii. 62 *fac id te*, 85 *eumque*, 105 *obsolefiebant*, 106 *de via ei*, iii. 33 *quod ad*, iv. 14 *cum habeat*.

The affinities of  $c$  and  $b$  with *V* are of greater importance. I find seven cases only in which *Vb* agree as against  $c$ . These are

- 1, 1 *discordiis usa erat* *Vb*: *discordaverat*

$c$ : ii. 63 *duceret* *Vb*, *diceret*  $c^2$ : 118 *ipse* *Vb*: *ipso*  $c$ : iii. 12 *est contionatus* *Vb*: *contionatus est*  $c$ , 14 *iudicantur* *Vb*, *iudicentur*  $c$ : iv. 8 *fortissimorum sui* *Vb*, *fortissimorumque sui*  $c$ , 16 *cura* *Vb*, *cum*  $c$ .

On the other hand I find twenty-eight cases in which  $c$  agree with *V sol.*, against  $b$  and the rest of *D*.

1, 14 *consulari*, 18 *etiam in rebus*, 34 *M. Antoni*, ii. 4 *nec solvendo eras*, 12 *ut me primum*, 19 *quia*, 22 *id*, 23 *eniti*, 26 *domo*, *ib.* tam, 32 *quaerent*, 68 *deversari*, 80 *iratus*, 80 *fodiamus*, 115 *quidam morbo aliquo*, *ib.* *gustatum*, 116 *vita*, iii. 15 *maledicit*, 16 *nempe ille*, *ib.* enim, 24 *illo ipso*, 28 *vitiis*, 30 *bene et e re p.*, 31 *atque is*, 34 *ferendam* (*-em* *V*), 36 *accedunt*, iv. 5 *loco*, 8 *atque ut*.

To this may be added a number of cases where one of Halm's MSS. agrees with *Vc* as against  $b$ , e.g.

- 1, 17 *ad Opis* *Vcg*, ii. 5 *quod* *Vcg*, 39 *sectorem* *Vcg*, 75 *peterent* *Vac*.

In several cases  $c$  serve as the missing link between the correct reading of *V* and the interpolation in *D*, e.g.

iii. 16 *Iulia* *V*, *vigilia*  $c$ , *Aricina* *D*. It is obvious that the corruption preserved by  $c$  mediates between the reading of *V*, and the conjecture found in the rest of *D*.

iv. 3 *paternis* *V*, *Hispanis paucis*  $c$ , *Hispanis* *D*. Here again the corruption in  $c$  explains the interpolation.

The number of cases in which *Vbc* agree against the other MSS. is of course large. With these, however, I am not concerned, since my purpose here is merely to show that  $c$  are nearer than  $b$  to *V*. It may be noted that in several cases a correction in  $b$  agrees with *Vc*. I have noted the following agreements of *Vb<sup>2</sup>c*.

- 1, 24 *putamus*, ii. 70 *est enim*, 119 *nunc*, iv. 3 *saeculorum*.

To these may be added ii. 12 *Volcatio*, 30 *homicidae ne*, 42 *et vero*; where  $b^2c$  agree *sol*i against *V* and other *D* MSS.

In several cases  $c$  preserve *proprii errores* found in *V*, e.g. 1, 23 *iubent*] *iubenti* *Vc*, ii. 66 *portenti*] *potenti* *Vc*, 70 *collega meus*] *conlega meus* *V*: *collegā eius*  $c$  77 *tu?* *a marco*] *tuam marco* *V*, *tuā arco*  $c$ .

The result then is that  $c$  are nearer to *V* than any other members of *D*, and often serve to bridge over the gulf between *D* and *V*. This is of particular importance as showing that the good readings found in  $b$  are not due to conjecture, but represent an ancient tradition. As  $b$  contains all the *Philippics* while  $c$  contain only i.-iv., this conclusion is distinctly comforting.

## II.—Regius 15 A. xiv. (l).

This very interesting MS. has not been used by previous critics. It was written, according to Sir E. Maunde Thompson, at the beginning of the eleventh century, and is probably the oldest known MS. of the *D* family. It contains *Phil.* i.—xiii. 46, where it ends with the word *cupiant*, the rest of the volume having been torn out. The first page has been damaged by wet, and is not legible to my eyes. The writer began in a clumsy and archaic hand which lasts until *f* 14 *b* *suspiciaris* (ii. 30): he then took a fresh pen, and wrote in smaller letters, but gradually returned to his first style, which is continued to *f* 34 *b* *praesides et populum* (iii. 30). A fresh scribe writing a more modern and elegant hand then succeeded him, and continued as far as the end of *Phil.* ix. (*f* 55 *b*), the leaf being left blank except for four lines. On *f* 56 *a* a more archaic hand, possibly the same as the first, but rather finer, began and continued until the end of the volume.

This is the only known member of *D* in which the orations are correctly numbered. There is a great lacuna common to *D* extending from v. 31 to vi. 18. At the end of vi. the writer of *l* enters *M. Tulli Ciceronis Philippicarum Lib. V explicit*. At the end of vii. however he enters correctly, *Liber VII explicit, incipit octavus*, thus showing that vi. had been lost. The rubricator, puzzled at the fact that there was no sixth speech, struck out all the subscriptions. In Halm's MSS. *abt* the speeches are not numbered, and there is a gap left before *Hodierno die* iii. 27, and in *g*, in which the speeches are numbered, *Phil.* iv. is made to begin with these words.

A dislocation peculiar to *l* is iii. 3–18 *quo enim usque...commoveri putat*, a passage which is omitted *loco suo*, and inserted after *industria inferior* iv. 15 (*f* 38 *a*). It has also two omissions not reported from any other MS., viz., viii. 9–15 *illud est...ego Catilinam*, and ix. 8–14 *sarcianus...maiores quidem nostri*, probably on each occasion omitting a page of the archetype. A smaller omission is ii. 108–110 *memineramus...qui sit ignores*, which has been repaired by stitching in half a page on which the missing passage is entered by a second hand. There are a number of small omissions, especially in *Phil.* ii., which have been remedied by the second hand.

The MS. appears to have been copied from an original in which, as in *V*, the

words were often not separated. This is clear from the number of faulty divisions,

e.g. ii. 70 *omitto*] *omit tam*, 72 *solī vicit*] *soluncit*, 81 *vitii in*] *viti in*, viii. 16 *nego*] *ne ego*, 29 *quam magnum*] *quagnū*, x. 4 *tu oderis*] *tuo der tis*, xi. 6 *ullam esse*] *ullaē*, xiii. 12 *thesaurum*] *thes aurum*, 23 *at scurrae*] *ats curere*.

That the writer's spelling was not good may be seen from e.g. *auliud* (= *aliud*), *egestis* (= *egistis*), *amunuit* (*admonuit*), *proscit* (*prospicit*), and the like. He had not much skill in dealing with abbreviations which he found in the archetype. Thus he frequently writes *caesunt* for *Caesar*, and in xiii. 4 *can.* stands for *cum Antonis*.

Some of his mistakes are curious, and savour of the cloister. I instance the following:—

ii. 7 *pro sectione debebas*] *pro refectioe debebas*

112 *cur armatorum corona senatus saep-tus est*] *cur amatorum corona*, etc.

xi. 4 *in Galliam invasit Antonius*] *in Galileam invasit Antonius*.

That the archetype of *l* was full of variants is clear from the following:—

i. 21 *populi Romani*] *populi romani plublice rei*.

ii. 59 *tu quaesisti*] *† dedisti tum que siste*.  
117 *illum homines*] *illi homines illum*.

viii. 28 *usi*] *† si sed*.

xi. 4 *ac diripere*] *atque ac diripere*.

7 *et patienter*] *et patienter que*.

21 *dedisse*] *pro ledisse*.

xiii. 20 *delata*] *perfecta. perlata*.

23 *quid moleste feras*] *quid doleas † quid moleste feras*.

These variants are often entered in the margin, or above the line, e.g. i. 26 *id lex erit*] *at. illexerit*; ii. 3 *gratiam*] *† turmam etiam*; 74 *invehens questus est*] *invectus invehens est in textu: in mg. at. invehens*

*questus est*; 75 *a primo*] *a primo*; 76 *calceis*] *calcetis, in mg. forsitan calceis*;

77 *quis tu*] *quis tu*; *ib. a. Marco*] *armato*;

78 *praedes*] *pedes*. I would call attention to the meaninglessness of several of these variants.

Frequently notes are incorporated in the text, e.g.

xi. 8. *quamquam eius crudelitas Dolabellae numquam particeps fuit*.

33. *Deiotari regis et patris et filii et laus Deiotari regis*.

- xiii. 8 plurimum *bonitas* *M. Lepidi urbis ornamenta*.

The reading of *l* often throws light upon the formation of *D*, e.g.

- ii. 73 qui risus hominum *V*.  
qui risus de te erat *l*.  
qui risus hominum de te erat *D*.

Here the gloss *de te erat* has expelled *hominum* from *l*, while both readings are combined in the rest of *D*.

- 100 quae tua fuit cognitio *V*.  
quae fuit cognitio *l* (tua *add. m. 2*).  
quae fuit tua cognitio *D*.

*Tua* was above the line in the archetype, and has been inserted by *D* in the wrong place.

- xi 6 ab hoc Dolabellae *V*.  
ab illa Dolabellae *l*.  
ab hoc illa Dolabellae *D*.

The following cases are interesting:—

- ii. 42 vide autem *V*, *om. D*: *l* has vide.  
xiii. 7 *M. Lepidus imperator*] so *edd.*, imperator *VD* (*om. M. Lepidus*): *M. Lepidus l* (*om. imperator*).  
v. 31 etiamne hanc moram *V*  
etiamne hanc moram *l* (*add. sup. lin. m. 2*).  
etiamne hanc moram *afferemus D*.

I now proceed to discuss the affinities of *l*. These are chiefly with *a* and *t*. Its connexion with *a* may be shown by a curious dislocation in xi. 9 where the words *quam corporis, hoc sunt graviora ea quae concipiuntur animo* are omitted *loco suo* and inserted nine lines further down, after *contumelia*. There are a number of omissions common to *al*. Thus they both omit:—

- i. 15 quorum silentio ignosco, alia eorum.  
xii. 13 fati, aut si ante oppetenda est, oppetatur cum gloria.

As *a* generally agrees with *l* and is two centuries later, and, where it differs, generally has an inferior reading, its place in the criticism of the Philippics should be taken by *l*.

The relation of *l* to *t* is of more importance. As against *bg* their agreement is continual. I instance the following *proprii errores*:

- i. 10 quem praesentes non sunt secuti]  
quem praesentes dixit pro populo  
praesentes *t*: quem sequens dixit  
pro populo praesentes *l*.

- v. 10 tulisse] lucidissime *lt*.

- 25 franget] restringit *t*: stranget *l*.  
(*corr. m. 2*).

- xi. 20 quod ereptum non est] quod ereptum  
est non est *lt*.

- xiii. 3 relinquo duces nomino] reliquos  
omitto duces *lt*.

It must not be inferred that *l* is as good a MS. as *t*. In it the process of corruption is further developed. It has some very flagrant interpolations. I instance the following:

- iii. 10 quasilla *V*<sup>1</sup> at: cives illius *l*. (quas  
Sylla *b*: quasilla illius *g*: cives  
illius *V*<sup>2</sup>.)  
20 illae] ille *V*: elea *t*: et alea est *l*  
(eae *c*: hec *b in ras.*, alea *a*, alea  
est *g*).

On the other hand it is free from many of the corruptions found in *t*. Thus ii. 58 it reads *essedo* correctly with *V*: esse genus vehiculi do *t*, ii. 1 perhorrescere (pertimescere *t*), 41 praeterea (quippe *t*), iv. 4 Suessae (fuisse *t*), v. 11 perire potuisse (dissipasse *t*), xii. 20 aureos (argenteos *t*), etc.

The MS. to which *l* most closely approximates is a *codex Scalae* used by Ferrarius. Some of the best readings to be found in *l* are only found in it, and this MS. I instance the following.

- vii. 23 denuntiasset *l et Scal.*: nuntiasset  
*cell*.  
x. 22 Saxa Cafo *l et Scal.*: Saxas et Cafones  
*V*: saxa captant *D*.  
xiii. 24 mentum mentemque *l et Scal.* with  
Arusianus: mentem mentumque  
*cell*.

This is also the case with more doubtful readings, e.g.

- xiii. 27 ex qua excesserat] unde excesserat,  
*l et Scal.*

and *proprii errores*, e. g.

- xi. 3 animo] omine *l et Scal*.  
xiii. 33 nesciebant] ignorabant *l et Scal*.

Some of the errors, however, reported from *Scal.* are not found in *l*, e.g.

- xii. 33 praestrinxerat aciem animi *D*. Bruti  
salus] so *l* correctly:—praestrin-  
xerat aciem a<sup>u</sup> Drusi Bruti salus  
*D*. Bruti *Scal.* (praestr. aciem  
amici dubruti salus *t*).

A doubtful honour to which *l* succeeds in consequence of its displacing *a* is that of being the *parens deteriorum*. These are of various ages and qualities gradually shading



off into the fifteenth century vulgate, which I term  $\delta$ . A number of the readings of  $\delta$  thus appear to come from a genuine tradition. I instance the following:

- xii. 6 tam accurate paulo ante  $\delta$ : paulo ante tam accurate *D*.  
 7 debilitatam] so  $\delta$ : delibatam *D*.  
 8 quis enim  $\delta$ : quid enim *D*.  
 xiii. 24 in industria  $\delta$ : industria *D*.  
 30 patere] parere  $\delta$ : favere *b*: *om. at.*  
 40 O praeclarum lucrum! quo te] so *D*: praeclarum lucrum, quo lucro te  $\delta$ .

The pedigree of  $\delta$  is of course highly complicated, since variants from every source have been imported into them, still there can be no doubt that they spring originally from the *l(a)* stock.

Before quitting *l* I would say that I make no claim to correctness or purity on its behalf. It abounds in corruptions, but these are of a simple kind, and quite undisguised. In this respect it resembles *t* and differs from *b* and its congeners.

### III.—(n) Collegii Novi, CCLII., twelfth century.

This is a very interesting MS., and in many ways differs from the rest of *D*. It was used in the last century by the collators of the Oxford MSS. for the large Clarendon Press edition published in 1783. They did their work in a very perfunctory way. In the Preface the MS. is termed  $\phi$ , and this symbol is employed in the collation for *Phil.* i.-iv.: from v.-xiv. its readings are given as those of *v*, without any information being given to the reader that  $\phi$  and *v* are the same MSS. Two of its readings appear in Halm's notes as those of 'Oxon. V', viz. vi. 19 *horam*, xiv. 12 *illum*.

The MS. is written in an English hand, and is remarkable for the quantity of abbreviations which it contains. I instance a few:  $\bar{u}$  = ut,  $ut^s$  = utinam, *c* = Caesar,  $c^s$  = cuius,  $\bar{c}$  = cui,  $c^o$  = civis,  $\bar{c}$  = cur,  $\bar{b}a$  = beneficia,  $g'$  = genus,  $i'$  = ius,  $\bar{n}s$  = numerus. *Est* is written  $\div$ , *enim*  $\#$ , *etiam*  $\dot{\epsilon}$ . The writer uses abbreviations to which more than one meaning can be attached, e.g.  $nu\bar{t}t$  = nullis,  $mal\bar{i}$  = malis,  $vol\bar{u}$  = voluit. He sometimes confuses his symbols, e.g. I have found  $\bar{i}$  for  $\bar{u}$  (ut), for *vi*, and for *m* (e.g.  $\bar{i}utinam$  = Mutinam), but as a rule he employs them with precision, and obviously knew what he was writing.

There is no break in the MS. at iii. 28 as in Halm's MSS. The full number of

xiv. Philippics is made up by a break at xii. 26, where the words *Haec ego in urbe provideo* are made to begin a fresh Oration.

The basis of the text is on the whole that of *l*, though *n* does not share with *l* the peculiar dislocation in iii. 3-18, or the peculiar omissions, viii. 9-15 and ix. 8-14. The agreement of the two MSS. may be shown by the following:—

- xii. 18 sic me iniquum eierabant, de me querebantur, *om. ln.*  
 22 ad eum qui mihi fuit propositus, exitum edd. 'exitus *VD*' Halm: ad eum exitum qui mihi fuit propositus exitus *ln.*  
 xiii. 4 cum Antoniis fecimus] can fecimus *l*: confecimus *n*.  
 30 huic causae] in hac causa *n*, huic causae *l*, but in the following line *vel in hac causa*.

It contains, however, a certain number of *b* readings, e.g. :—

- xiii. 19 delata] deleta *bn*, as Peters conjectured.  
 xiv. 13 cogitari *bn*: excogitari *rell*.

That these have been introduced by a corrector is clear from the following case:—

- viii. 7 poeniretur (necem): poena *l*, puniret *b*, puniret penam (*om. necem*) *n*.

The MS., therefore, is not free from contamination. It also contains peculiar interpolations and corruptions. I instance the following:

- ii. 101 agro Campano] 'agro P.C. Campano *D*': agro Piceno pro Campano *n*.  
 vii. 3 in nefariis civibus ulciscendis cum possis, non pertimescendis] in nefariis civibus ulciscendis non pavescendis an pertimescendis *n*.  
 viii. 17 vineae] liniae *codd. rell.*: ligneae turres *n*.

In spite of these drawbacks *n* has a strange knack of being right where other MSS. are wrong. I quote the following cases:—

- ii. 7 ioca, so *n*: loca *rell. codd. noti*.  
 63 gerens *n*, with Quintilian and Arusianus: 'gens *V*, regens *D*.'  
 87 Sp. Maelius *n*, edd. from the conjecture of Schütz: Sp. *om. rell. codd. noti*.  
 xii. 2 appellare mallent *edd.* from the conjecture of Scala: appellare

malent *n*: appellarem alieni  
alt, appellarent alieni *bg*.

34 quid non fecistis, quod faciat, so  
*n*, and *edd.* from the conjecture  
of Madvig, quid *rell. codd.*  
*noti*.

xiv. 38 cum plurimos caederent, caderent  
nonnulli, so *n*, and *edd. recc.*  
from the conjecture of Halm:  
cadere nonnullos *rell. codd.*  
*noti*.

This list may be largely added to by  
including more doubtful cases, *e.g.* :—

v. 6 populum Romanum...opprimendi]  
'populi Romani certissima coni. Manutii'  
Müller: rei *p*....opprimendi *n*, which can  
only stand for this reading.

ib. 9 quo modo hostium aditus urbe  
prohibentur, ita castellis et operibus ab  
ingressione fori populum tribunosque plebi  
propulsari videres] prohibentur castellis et  
operibus, ita ab ingressione fori *n*, thus  
giving MS. authority for a transposition  
accepted by Ernesti, Madvig, Cobet and  
Müller from the editio Iuntina.

ib. 10 colonis] coloniis *n*, as conjectured  
by Garatoni (so a correction in *g*).

viii. 17 ego huic faveo] 'huic *V*: huic vel  
illi videlicet *bg*: huic tu illi videlicet *a*:  
huic videlicet *edd.*, quamquam nullus codex  
sic habet' Halm. As a matter of fact *n*  
reads ego huic videlicet faveo.

xiv. 38 si vivi vicissent, qui morte vice-  
runt. So *edd.* from the conjecture of  
Ernesti: si illi vicissent, *codd. Halmii*: si  
illi vixissent *n*, which gives a good sense,  
and explains the corruption. This reading  
is quoted by Ferrarius from his *liber Scalae*,  
which we have seen to be a *gemellus* of *l*,  
and therefore was in all probability the  
reading of *l*, which fails after xiii. 46.

Like its congener *l*, so also *n* appears to  
be a *parens deteriorum*. I instance the  
following :—

xiv. 8 crudelissimis exemplis] crudelissimis  
*n*, crudelissime *δ*, a conjecture  
based upon the omission of exem-  
plis.

9 dicere reformidat] dicere formidat  
*rell.*, formidat dicere *nδ*.

14 potius unde] *om.* unde *nδ*.

15 sed suo] quod suo *nδ*.

16 nostra] *om.* *nδ*.

The dislocation reported by Halm from  
his *dett.* in § 13 of the corrupt words in  
*peius crimen invidia quaereretur* is found in  
*n*, as also in Harl. 2682.

IV.—Harleianus, 2682, eleventh century.

This MS., which is of such great import-  
ance for so many works of Cicero, is of little  
use in the *Philippics*. Its chief affinities are  
with the *Gudianus* (*g*), the least trustworthy  
of Halm's MSS.: and its principal use is to  
show the antiquity of the *g* recension. It  
is in every way a better MS. than *g*. Thus  
there is in it no break at iii. 17 *Hodierno*  
*die*, where *g* has *Explicit liber tertius. In-*  
*cipit quartus Philippicarum.* It is also free  
from many of the corruptions and interpo-  
lations found in *g*. It has several good  
readings, *e.g.* i. 13 *usquam* with *bg* (*musquam*  
*rell.*), ii. 55 *principii* with *g* (*principis Vbt*:  
*principibus c*: *principio ln*), and some peculiar  
interpolations *e.g.* ii. 58 *rheda cum leonibus*  
as Victorius conjectured (*leonibus rell.*), and  
vii. 3 *generatores* (*senatores rell.*) *diligentes*.  
I only collated it systematically for those  
portions of the *Philippics* not found in *l*.  
It possesses some value for the last part of  
*Phil.* xiii. and for *Phil.* xiv. on account of  
the dearth of MS. evidence (*l* ends xiii. 46,  
*g* xiii. 20, *t* xiv. 25). Its readings here  
agree so closely with those of *a* as to super-  
sede *a* which is a much later MS.

Whatever value *h* might have possessed  
has been largely destroyed, especially in the  
earlier *Philippics*, by two *scioli* who en-  
deavoured in the fifteenth century to alter  
its readings to those of the Italian vulgate  
(*δ*). The earlier interpolator was compara-  
tively harmless, since he confined himself to  
obelisations and superscriptions: his suc-  
cessor, however, took more violent measures,  
frequently erasing the original text and  
scribbling the vulgar readings in *rasura*.  
Gulielmus wisely left the MS. alone for the  
*Philippics*, and seldom quotes from it.  
Graevius, who neglects those portions of the  
MS. for which it is of primary importance,  
collated it carefully for the *Philippics*,  
minutely recording alterations made by the  
sacreligious interpolators.

I now proceed to sum up the results of  
this discussion. The members of *D* which  
preserve the purest tradition are the *familia*  
*Colotiana* (*c*), which appear to have come  
from an Old-Irish source. They unfortu-  
nately contain only the first four speeches, in  
which they occupy a midway position  
between *V* and *b*. Since, however, the re-  
lation of *b* to *V* is exactly the same through-  
out the speeches, there is reason for  
believing that the good readings of *b* in the  
later speeches are drawn from this excellent  
source. We must, however, always be

critical when dealing with *b*, since it embodies an intelligently-formed recension. Similar caution is necessary with *n*, a MS. written by a person of some erudition. Halm's MSS. *ag*, and the Harleianus *h* throw no special light upon the text, and call for no particular comment. They represent a degenerate form of the *lt* strain, which the evidence of *h* shows to have been in existence in the eleventh century. The oldest members of *D* are *lt*, and these give us the most faithful picture of the archetype. Of the two MSS. *t* is the least corrupt. Both MSS. were written by ignorant persons, especially *l*.

It is clear that the archetype of *D* like that of *V* was full of variants and notes. I instance the following ii. 27 Quid? duos servilios]. Here *lt* (and *a*) add *nomina propria*, a grammatical note from the margin: in *n* this appears as *nomine proprio*. v. 19 septemdecim dies de me...declamavit, sitim quaerens]. Here after *dies lt* (and *ag*) add *ut digestio potius quam declamatio videretur*, the remark of a simple-minded commentator.

ib. 21 nihil placere ratum esse, quod ab iis actum diceretur] 'quod V: quod elegissent aut quod. D' Halm. The same corruption is found in *l*, while *n* has *quod egissent aut quod*. It is obvious that in the archetype of *D* was *quod ab iis actum*.

A peculiarly instructive case is x. 15 where the intrusion of *Brutorum actiones*, i.e. 'the achievements of Brutus,' a note from the margin of the archetype, has produced curious corruptions in the various members of the *D* family. I have already, when speaking of *l*, given a selection of cases peculiar to this MS.

These variants frequently were taken from the margin by a copyist and inserted in the wrong place. I instance the following.

ii. 65 omnes tibi deos, non omnes homines esse inimicos etc.] After *inimicos n* adds *et divos*.

ib. 76 nos tum, cum consulatus petebatur] nos tum V: nostrum c: nr̄n t: nr̄ b: om. ag: nos tum cum consulatus noster pet. l.

xi. 36 Cassio vero sententia mea dominatum...dari] Cassio vero domitatum sententia mea dominatum...dari l.

This is a fertile source of error, which has not received due attention from critics of these speeches. I instance the following cases from *Phil.* xiv., where we are dependent entirely upon *D*.

xiv. 15 quemquamne fuisse tam sceleratum qui hoc fingeret, tam furiosum qui

crederet.] For *furiosum t* reads *fruit* and Halm conjectures *fatuum*. Two lines further on *t* reads *hoc triduo vel fusum quadriduo*, while *b* has *vel susum quadriduo*. Halm accordingly conjectures *sumum*. Both these conjectures are very perverse. In the archetype of *t furiosum* must have been written *fusum*, a simple corruption: this was altered to *fruit*, *fusum* being relegated to the margin. In *b* the corrupt word reappears as *susum*.

ib. 12 an si quis Hispanorum...mille, aut duo milia occidisset, illum etc.] So *n*: unum *lt*: om. *b*, with the variant *unum* for *mille*. It is clear that in the archetype was *mille* (as opposed to *duo milia*): *unum* has taken the place of *mille* in *b* and of *illum* in *lt*.

ib. 20 idem P. Ventidium, cum alii pr. volusenum, ego semper hostem. Has in sententias meas, si consules discessionem facere voluissent] volusenum *bt*: voluisse *n*. I take *volusenum* or *voluisse n* to be a corrupt form of *voluissent*, which was first relegated to the margin, and then wrongly inserted after *pr*.

The following cases in xiii. admit of a similar explanation:

§ 23 acerbissimum vero est te, A. Hirti, ornatum.] So *edd.* from a correction of Gryphius: *ornatum esse codd.* As previously *t* reads *esse* for *est*, it is easy to see that *esse* was first relegated to the margin, and then wrongly inserted after *ornatum*.

§ 29 si haec videret, denique aut vellet, aut fieri posse arbitrareretur. 'Prius undis flamma,' ut ait poeta nescio quis, prius denique omnia] I excise the first *denique*. The word appears to have been in the margin of the archetype, and then to have been inserted after *videret* as well as in the proper place. Some bold conjectures have been made here. Madvig suggests *si haec videret, <audiret> denique*, while Müller prints, *si haec legeret, suaderet denique aut*.

I add a few words concerning the relation to *V* of the *decurtatus* from which *D* are copied. Is this derived from the same source as *V*? At first sight this appears unlikely in view of the wide divergence between *V* and *D*, and the acknowledged antiquity of the *D* recension. On the other hand this divergence tends to become less as more MSS. are collated. I have found a large number of *V* readings, chiefly in *c*, though to a less extent also in *n* and *l*, in place of those which Halm gives as characteristic of *D*. Again, both *V* and *D* have the same

blemishes in many cases: thus ii. 76 they read *caligis* (*Gallieis* Gellius), and iii. 31 omit *fundit apothecas*, words preserved by Servius. A curious *proprius error* common to *VD* is

xi. 6. *cuius taeterrima crudelitate omnis barbaria superata est*] *acuius V*: 'saepius in Vat. voci alicui *a* male praefixam legimus' Halm: *a cuius D* (*acuius In*).

A suggestive passage is ii. 93-96. Here *D* omit the passage *sunt ea quidem to acta defendimus*, going straight on to the beginning of § 97 *quid ego de commentariis*. In *V* we find *quid ego de commentariis* etc. written twice, viz. in § 93 before *Sunt ea quidem*, and afterwards correctly in § 97. It can hardly be doubted that there was a similar dittography in the archetype of *D*, and that the copyist's eye travelled from § 93 to § 97 leaving out the intervening sections.

It would, therefore, be unsafe to consider the two archetypes wholly independent. We can only say, that, as far back as it is possible to carry the analysis, there appear to be two recensions characterised by well-marked differences. While *V* is superior to *D* in most cases, *D* often contain the true reading against *V*, and where *D* fail, the loss is appreciably felt. On the other hand, where we have *D* only, the loss is irreparable, and it is well to recognise the fact that we are dealing with a very corrupt text. Reverence for the MS. tradition is mere superstition when we have only inferior MSS., and cannot rightly be appealed to in order to silence criticism.

In a subsequent paper I propose to publish some conjectures and other remarks upon the text of the Philippias.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

#### NOTES ON SILIUS ITALICUS, V.—VIII.

##### V.

45 at cura umbroso seruabat uertice montis  
hostilem ingressum, refugos habitura sub  
ietu.

So Ch. F. L. O. V's 'circa' in 45 leaves 'habitura' isolated. But 'cura' itself is not satisfactory, and I think Schrader's 'turma' very desirable. The context shows that Sil. is referring to the troops posted at the entrance to the valley—between the mountains and the lake. For 'umbroso uertice montis' in connection with the entrance to the valley cp. (1) Polybius iii. 83 who describes the passage as *παρὰ τὴν παρὼ-πεταρ* (2) Livy xxii. 4 'ad ipsas fauces saltus tumulis apte tegentibus and (3) Sil. himself, who makes Hannibal say (iv. 825) 'ad claustra et fauces ducat per opaca Sychaeus,' and in l. 457 of this book describes Sychaeus as fighting 'tumulis siluisque.' Now that cavalry were posted at this point both Polybius and Livy distinctly state, though Silius does not. As Schrader has pointed out, he uses 'turma' in a very similar passage vii. 275.

One may note as points of interest in S.'s description of Trasimene (1) the fourfold division of Hannibal's forces and the curious duty which H. assigns himself in the words 'te Trasymene uago cum milite praeceps lustrabo'—the duty of occupying the hill

facing the Romans, which, according to Pol. and Liv. fell to Hannibal, being here assigned to Mago. Did Silius feel the difficulty of these writers' descriptions in so far as they fail to explain the way in which the Romans were surrounded on all sides (see Grundy, *Journal of Philology*, No. 47, p. 109)? (2) the strange mistake by which he makes both Hannibal and the Romans have the lake on their left hand (l. 4 compared with l. 95).

66 Signa etiam affusa certant dum uellere mole.

What is the meaning of 'affusa'? Heinsius says 'affusa militum mole,' which seems unlikely. What we require is 'with all their might,' and the Tellerian MS. rightly reads 'effusa.' Silius uses 'tota mole' similarly several times (iv. 385; xii. 39; xvi. 185): cp. Ov. M. xii. 357 'reuellere pinum magno molimine temptat.' As for the use of 'effundo' Ov. M. i. 278 uses 'effundere uires' of rivers, Luc. vii. 344 of men, and we may compare Liv. x. 28 quantumcunque uirum habuit effudit. The usual idea of *vain* effort is present.

157 haec sibi quisque: sed est uestrum, cui  
nulla doloris  
priuati rabies, is uero ingentia sumat  
e medio.

Bauer punctuates thus, whilst Drakenborch has the comma after 'Est.' I think, if we keep the text, it should follow 'sed, est' belonging to the relative sentence and 'uestrum' being gen. pl. For late cui cp. xi. 581 sqq. 'ille tuus par Gradiuo, per saecula tellus cui, etc., and 215 sqq. mihi explorare libet, noua bella mouenti cui patuere Alpes.

510 inde aliae cladum facies contermina  
caedis  
collocet rapidoque inuoluitur aescu-  
lus igni.

Heinsius 'taedis' should be adopted here; for (1) we need an explanation of the 'rapido igni'; (2) the excessive alliteration is thereby avoided; (3) In x. 440, xiv. 565 'taedis' is certainly right, yet in each case three of the four MSS. read c(a)edis.

547. A man is spoiling his fallen adversary when a spear pierces him in his turn:

collapsaque membra sub ictu  
hoste superfuso subita cecidere ruina.

This seems generally misunderstood. Ruperti seeing that 'superfuso' cannot govern the ablative assumes that the adversary had not yet fallen, but now does so—on top of his slayer. Silius only implies the man's fall: his words are 'quem poplite caeso dum spoliat': but I think the mere mention of the act of spoiling shews what he means, and R's explanation of 'poplite caeso', 'poplitibus semet excipient' is absurd. All that is needed is to write 'hoste super fuso'—'his limbs came down on his fallen foe.'

551-4 see below on viii. 509.

## VI.

665 exuius Marti donumque Duilius alto  
ante omnis mersa Poenorum classe  
dicabat.

'Ante omnis' is explained by Ruperti as meaning that D. was the first to defeat Carthage at sea. But the phrase can only mean 'in preference to all others,' as in xii. 332 'ante omnes altaria fumant festa Ioui': cp. xiii. 84, 429, Verg. A. iv. 59, Stat. Theb. i. 553 etc. 'Alto' then becomes almost impossible in the sense 'at sea,' and as one would expect Neptune to come in for a share of the trophies I suggest 'dominoque . . . alti.' For the use of a periphrasis to

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denote this god cp. ix. 291, where amidst a number of gods including Mars we have 'domitor tumidi maris.' Ov. calls him 'genitor profundus.' An actual parallel to the use of 'dominus' I cannot bring, but the word is so similar to 'tyrannus' (Ov. M. i. 276 calls Neptune 'tyrannus' in respect of the rivers) that it seems to me a perfectly legitimate one. When once 'domino' got misread, 'alto' would be a natural change (cp. 'in altod marid' of the Col. Rostr.).

## VII.

201 patrique Lyaeo  
tempora quassatus.

So all edd., but LF have 'patrioque' and though OV are supported by Ch, that to my mind only discredits the latter. That 'patrioque L.' should be altered to 'patrique L.' seems intelligible, but not the reverse. Bacchus has given the good Falernus his draught of wine—the first Falernian ever drunk by man (see 192 sqq.), wine for ever to be associated with his country.

269 sqq.

non uacat aegram  
inuidiam gladios inter lituosque timere  
et dubia morsus famae depellere pugna  
donec reptantem et nequiquam saepe tra-  
hendo  
huc illuc castra ac scrutantem proelia Poenum  
. . . clausit sparsa ad diuertia turma.

Lines 272 sqq. follow ill on what precedes. F. dares not risk a battle until, after many attempts on his part to bring one on, he *shuts up* his adversaries in a place where (278 sqq.) 'nec ferri aut militis usum poscebat regio' and famine stared them in the face. In other words, F. did not dare fight H. until he got him—where he could *not* fight. I believe something has fallen out before 272, describing F.'s policy of keeping on the heights (as in the parallel passage Liv. xxii. 12. 8). That lines have fallen out in the MSS. of Silius is in itself probable, and we have a certain case of it at xvii 290.

Most edd. omit 'et' or read 'trahentem' in 272. I would suggest, as more likely, the omission of 'ac' in 273. It may well have been inserted *metri gratia*, or, if 'trahendo' was taken as equivalent to a *pres. part.*, to complete the sense. It could also be a mere misreading of *castrascrutantem*, 'c' and 's' being often confused. As for the metrical point, cp. Sil. ix. 575

E



'immanē stridens' and xvii. 546 'diuersā (neut. pl.) spatio.'

For *reptantem* I would read *sectantem* if Livineius' *raptantem* be not accepted.

515.  
diuiditur miles, Fabioque equitumque magistro  
imperia aequantur penitus. cernebat et expers  
irarum senior, etc.

So the vulgate with LOV. F. has 'gemitus,' and 'penitus' does not seem a likely word for 'aequantur.' I would suggest 'gemitus retinebat,' 'c,' 'r,' and 't' being so often confused.

657 summum qua laxa monilia crebro  
nudabant uersu tramittit cuspide pectus.

The commentators explain 'uersu' of the rows of chains 'quod quoquo uersus inflecti possunt.' But surely 'crebro uersu' is meant to explain 'laxa' (cp. 'fibula crebro laxata ictu in 625'). The man has been fighting after the Parthian manner (see 645 sqq. 'flexo equo uolucem post terga sagittam fundit, 654 fraude fugae'), and his frequent turning round to take aim behind him has strained the links of chain mail. For this, I believe, unique, ex. of the literal meaning of the word cp. 'extentus laterum' iv. 617 and Valerius' use of 'passus' for extending of the arms. It is to be noted that S's 'cursu' is probably simply an explanation of 'uersu,' intelligible enough if the word be taken thus.

#### VIII.

50 Iliaco postquam deserta est hospite Dido  
et spes abrupta e medio, in penetralibus  
atram  
festinat furibunda pyram.

So MSS. and most edd. But I know no parallel to the phrase 'spes abrupta e medio,' and do not see what meaning it could have. Barth's 'abruptae medio' is just, and only just, possible. Heinsius is, I think, right in referring the adjective to the next sentence: the objection to his reading is that I see no reason why 'mediis' should have been altered. If we read 'mediam,' the omission of the 'm' is easily explained by the following 'in'; we may cp. Verg. Aen. ii. 508, 'medium in penetralibus hostem.'

509 sqq. After mention of the 'Marsi' we have:—

coniungitur acer  
Paelignus, gelidoque rapit Salmone co-  
hortes, 510  
haud illo leuior bellis Vestina iuuentus 515  
agmina densauit, uenatu dura ferarum.

Three towns are mentioned, then follow the Marrucini 517—523.

<sup>1</sup> Nec Sidicina cohors deficit Viriasius armet  
mille uiros, nulli uictus uel ponere castra  
uel iunxisse rates duosque resolvere muros  
ariete et in turrim subito immittere pontis<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Nec cedit studio Sidicinus sanguine miles  
quem genuere Cales: non paruis conditor  
urbi  
(ut fama est) Calais, Boreae quem rapta  
per auras  
Orithyia uago Geticis nutriuit in antris.<sup>2</sup>  
Iam uero quos diues opum, quos diues  
auorum  
e toto dabat ad bellum Campania tractu,  
ductorum aduentum uicinis sedibus Osci  
seruabant.<sup>3</sup>

The above represents the text as I would have it. The changes are (a) transposition of VIII. 511—4 so as to directly precede 524—by this means (1) the Vestini and Marrucini are reunited with their Sabine brethren, (2) 'uicinis' in 526 is now intelligible as meaning near to Cales, whereas before it could only mean near to the Marrucini (and in particular Corfinium or Teate 520)—(b) the insertion of V 551 sqq. before VIII 511. The advantages are (1) a passage clearly out of place in bk. 5 here receives a local habitation; (2) 'Sidicinus sanguine' now gets its full force, its duty being to connect Cales with Teanum; (3) we now have both peoples mentioned as in Vergil Aen. vii. 727 sqq.

In 515 I read 'illo' with the old edd., as it makes capital sense: the Vestini are as brave as the 'acer Paelignus' (cp. 519 Marrucina simul *Frentanis aemula pubes*).

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

<sup>1</sup> Nec Sidicina . . . pontis = V. 551-554.

<sup>2</sup> Nec cedit . . . antris = VIII. 511-514.

<sup>3</sup> Iam uero etc. = VIII. 524 sqq.

## AGRICOLA'S INVASION OF IRELAND ONCE MORE.

MR. F. HAVERFIELD has done me the honour to examine in detail (see *C.R.* xiii. p. 302 *f.*) the reasons which led me to interpret *Agric.* ch. 24 as referring to an *actual*, not a *contemplated*, invasion of Ireland and he has come to the conclusion that they must one and all be rejected. I can assure him, that I have perused his article dispassionately, but regret to say that his objections do not seem to me well taken. As the question at issue possesses a general interest, I may be permitted to revert to it once more and I hope to prove, if not to Mr. Haverfield himself, at least to some of the readers of this journal that my interpretation of the passage under notice still holds good.

At the very outset, it may be well to emphasize *two* facts. First, that my explanation rests upon serious internal difficulties involved in the traditional view and, on the other hand, upon the *cumulative* validity of the arguments adduced against this view.

Secondly, that my proof consists of *two* parts which, though ultimately supporting each other, should for the sake of clearness be kept apart. I have tried to show *first*, that the opening paragraph cannot refer to the *Caledonians*, and *secondly*, that the chapter refers to an *actual*, not a *contemplated* invasion of Ireland.

(A) 1. Taking up the questions in this order, I again draw particular attention to the word *transgressus* 'crossed over' as out of place, if understood of a fleet sailing along the coast of England to the Clyde. To this Mr. H. replied: 'I know the coast and should certainly accept and use the word myself.' But with all due respect to Mr. H.'s intimate knowledge of Latin idiomatic usage, I submit that in so using the term he would be guilty of a solecism, unless he can adduce an instance of the use of *transgredi* in the sense of 'coasting or sailing along a shore.'

2. I contended that *nave prima* is incompatible with a statement in ch. 25, to the effect that it was not till the following year that the fleet was utilized as an integral part of Agricola's forces, unless it could be shown that the term *nave* applied merely to *transports*. Mr. H. admits this, but maintains that it is quite 'immaterial, for in ch. 24 Agricola transported his troops somewhere which therefore involves no contradiction.' But the transportation is a

mere assumption not warranted by anything in the text, nor can we conceive of any reason why Agricola should suddenly take to the sea, instead of advancing by land, as in the previous and subsequent campaigns. Again, it must not be overlooked, as we learn from ch. 25, that in the following year the fleet merely *co-operated* with the land forces, whereas we are here supposed to believe, that the *entire* force was transported by sea. Finally, even granting, what is more than doubtful, that *nave* could here stand for *transport*, *prima* would in any case be absurd, for all but the native British troops in Agricola's army had of course been transported at various times. If *nave prima*, therefore, cannot mean 'transporting troops in vessels for the *first* time' the contradiction pointed out will remain, as long as we insist on the traditional interpretation, that this paragraph refers to the *Caledonians*.

3. In the original article I had said 'According to the fixed usage of the Latin language, *que*, when uniting two sentences, *never* adds something that is intimately connected with the preceding.' Owing to an unfortunate oversight in reading the proof, I was made to say exactly the opposite to what I intended, as the very next clause, omitted by Mr. H., clearly proves. 'It will scarcely be contended that a campaign against Caledonians and an expedition to Ireland are so correlated.' But Mr. H. has preferred to attribute to me a demonstrably false assertion and an absurd *non sequitur* rather than to suppose the simple omission of *not* before *intimately*, so evidently implied by the context.<sup>1</sup> I maintain, therefore, that, as what follows *eamque* unmistakably points to Ireland, the previous sentence cannot refer to something so wholly different as a conflict with Caledonians.

4. Mr. H. further objects to my assertion that *velut in aliam insulam*, in the closing paragraph of ch. 23, establishes a skilful

<sup>1</sup> As for the rule itself, the very *exx.* cited by Mr. H. do not bear out his contention, that it is not fairly absolute. In ch. 22, 4, *ponendisque*, &c., *que* joins the following, certainly correlated, statements: The enemy did not assume the *offensive*, and we Romans had time to put up *defensive* works. In ch. 21, 12, *namque*, being a fixed phrase (for *et* or *atque* *nam* nowhere occurs) and therefore hardly analogous to *eamque* in our passage, joins a *specific* detail to a *general* statement, according to a usage extremely common in Tacitus. Cp. *Lex. Tac. a.v.*

transition to the opening sentence of chap. 24, which in that case cannot refer to the Caledonians, unless we read *velut in insulam*. The alleged transition, we are told is 'so subtle as not to be noticed at all.' But here again, I respectfully submit, that an observation is not invalidated, simply because it has not been made before.<sup>1</sup> 'Besides,' continues Mr. H., 'it does not prove Mr. G.'s conclusion, it is equally appropriate, whether I meant to talk of the invasion of Ireland or of a plan to invade Ireland.' This is perfectly true, but Mr. H. forgot to add that it never was intended to prove either the one or the other. It was merely another link in the chain of evidence to show that the opening paragraph does not refer to the Caledonians.

But if the foregoing reasons are, as I feel convinced, of sufficient cumulative validity to establish my first contention, it follows, as a matter of course, that such independent items as remain in this same opening paragraph can also not be understood of a campaign against Caledonia; in other words, both *ignotas gentes* and *crebris...proeliis domuit* must likewise refer to Ireland.

(B). 1. But if so, then there is but one logical conclusion to be drawn, namely that the entire paragraph in question refers to Ireland in which case the *crebris...domuit* clause in particular becomes quite unintelligible, unless understood of an actual and not of a contemplated invasion of that island. With the acceptance of this necessary inference, *transgressus* will have its proper meaning and *nave prima* is not only unobjectionable, but conveys a true statement, whose importance is emphasized by the position of the attributive.

2. Mr. H. himself admits that the words *in spem magis quam ob formidinem* are senseless, if the Caledonians are meant, but insists that the phrase *copiis instruxit* implies a hope of some day invading Ireland. 'The words proclaim aloud that the invasion was a *spes* not a fact.' Allowing, for the sake of argument, that the conclusion, drawn under (B) 1, is worthless, the words *copiis instruxit* would still not imply, when taken by themselves, anything at all as to an invasion, as they get their meaning solely from the context as a whole. And as for the loud proclamation said to emanate from *spes*, I must confess that its alleged vocal intensity is rendered so completely

ineffective by the intervention of *ob formidinem* as to be quite inaudible to my ears. *Spes* here means hope,—of invading, if the traditional view could be shown to be sound; it means hope,—of reinvading Ireland, if my interpretation is correct. Now apart from the evidence already adduced, I hold that *ob formidinem* precludes the former inference. Fear of what? Not of the Caledonians, for Mr. H. admitted that the phrases under notice do not refer to them; not of the Britons, for they had long since been pacified; not fear of Ireland before its invasion, for that were crossing a bridge before you reach it, it being psychologically improbable that Agricola could under the circumstances have had any apprehensions concerning a wholly unknown country across the sea. There remains the fear which the general might reasonably have felt regarding a possible attack from Ireland, after his first expedition thither.<sup>2</sup>

3. I had characterized this invasion as a fiasco, which Mr. H. calls a 'pure assumption, disproved by the context, *crebris...domuit*.' But if this statement is to be taken literally (and just here Mr. H. suddenly forgets, that on his own interpretation of the passage, the phrase refers to the Caledonians), he would, if consistent, be also compelled to maintain, that Caesar's invasions of Britain were a pronounced success and not, as universally acknowledged, conspicuous failures, for does not Caesar himself give a favourable account of his expeditions and does not Tacitus in a passage, suspiciously similar to the one under discussion, say of them *quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas ac litore potitus est* (Agr. ch. 13)? Tacitus, it is true, immediately qualifies this exaggerated statement by adding *potest videri ostendisse posteris quam tradidisse*. That he did not add a similar qualification in Agricola's case need not surprise us, for he was writing a *liber honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus*. Nor did he care to omit entirely all mention of what was in reality a fiasco any more than Caesar himself. But both tell us of alleged successes, and both tell the reader what they learned about the respective countries with which

<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that we may take the clause in question in a general sense, of an offensive strategic movement, there being thus no motive for any *formido* at all. But if fear is ex hypothesi excluded, I do not understand why Tacitus felt called upon to suggest this very thing as a possible contingency by gratuitously adding *magis quam ob formidinem*. Every reader would know that with offensive tactics, fear was naturally quite out of the question.

<sup>1</sup> For an equally subtle transition, also hitherto unnoticed, cp. ch. 33, extr. *in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse* and ch. 34 init. *si novae gentes et ignota acies*, with my note ad loc.

the Romans then for the first time became acquainted.

To conclude, it has been shown that the first paragraph of ch. 24 cannot pertain to the Caledonians. But if so, the statement, *crebris...domuit*, being part of it, must refer to an actual encounter in Ireland, the remaining items in the chapter being on the one hand, perfectly in harmony with this interpretation, while, on the other, quite incompatible with the traditional view of a contemplated invasion of the island.

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I fear that Prof. Gudeman has largely misread my arguments. To take A 1. and 2. only, I never said that *transgredi* meant 'to coast'—far from it—or that *nave prima* denoted 'transporting troops in vessels for the first time,' and Prof. Gudeman's paragraphs are all beside the point. As to *que*

in A 3, Prof. Gudeman has altered his ground. He first spoke of invariably intimate connexion: at least, he meant to do so, but the printer intervened. Confronted with Agr. 22. 4., he talks about 'correlation.' That is an excellent word which exactly suits the ordinary view of *eamque*. Let me add that I can find nothing in Gerber and Graef to show that *que* must mean intimate connexion. But a controversy about misunderstandings, &c. is a waste of time. I will merely emphasize the crucial point, which I fear that Prof. Gudeman still evades. Tacitus states that Agricola most successfully subdued *ignotas gentes* and would have liked to, and prepared to, invade Ireland, which he thought an easy job. Prof. Gudeman says this means that Agricola did invade Ireland and the invasion was a fiasco. I leave plain men to decide if this seems right.

F. HAVERFIELD.

#### ON JUVENAL, I. 132-146.

ALTHOUGH Prof. Housman has, I think, successfully demolished the current explanations of 144,

*hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus*, has he not overlooked a natural and—I would add, if I could find that it had occurred to anyone—an obvious interpretation? 'Madvig' (says Prof. Housman) 'impugns as absurd the statement that intestate old age is caused by the habit of bathing after a heavy meal.' Absurd, certainly, if 'intestate old age' means 'the delay of old men to make their wills.' But suppose *hinc intestata senectus* = *hinc, testamento non facto, senes fiunt*: hence they (the luxurious) grow old, before they have made their wills, i.e. age prematurely. This seems to me both good Latin and good sense. It may be asked 'why Juvenal should have written *intestata* (an epithet appropriate to *mors*) *senectus*, when he could

so well have written *praematura*, a word he uses elsewhere.' If Juvenal did not write *praematura*, it was because he deliberately chose the more striking word; *intestata senectus* is bold, but not too bold for such a master of pregnant and allusive style. Against Prof. Housman's interpretation of *intestata* it may be urged that the context—old age and sudden death—inevitably suggests a reference to *testamentum*. To employ the extraordinary meaning of an ambiguous word in a place where the ordinary meaning forces itself upon the reader's mind is surely bad art. *Intestata virtus*, unexampled virtue, may well stand in a suitable context: *intestata senectus*, unattested old age, preceded by *subitae mortes* and followed, at a respectful interval, by *plaudendum funus*, cannot stand in Juvenal.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

## ON APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS.

APOLL. SIDON. ep. ii 2 2 (C.R. vol. xiii p. 434) concaua municipis Amerini sede compressus.

*municipis amerini* NTV, *municipi amerini* L, *municipii amerini* C, *municipii camerini* FMP.

I should have expected *Amerinae*, but about the sense there should be no sort of doubt: the words mean 'cramped in an arm-chair of wicker-work.' The burgess of Ameria is the osier. Pliny n.h. xvi 174 says of willow-withies '*candidiores...supinarum* in deliciis *cathedrarum* aptissimae,' and then proceeds 177 'Graeca rubens, *candidior Amerina*'. For *munciceps* see Mart. x 87 10 'Cadmi *municipes* ferat lacernas', xiv 114 'hanc tibi Cumano rubicundam

pulvere testam | *municipem* misit casta Sibylla suam', Iuv. xiv 271 '*municipes* Iouis aduexisse lagonas'. I suppose the commentators have been misled by 'quin tu...raptim subduceris anhelantibus angustiis ciuitatis': that refers to 1 'te nunc urbe retineri'.

Apoll. Sidon. ep. vi 8 2 (C.R. vol. xiii p. 435) frigoribus fontium ciuicorum saepe fontem mercatoris anteferat.

*mercatoris* FMP, *mercatoribus* CLN, *mediatoris* T.

'*sapientiae* (*sap*<sup>o</sup>) fontem *mercator bonus*' Mildmay. Read '*sapientiae* fontem *mercatoris*,' comparing ep. iii 10 'ad *meracissimum* scientiae fontem.'

A. E. HOUSMAN.

## ON ANTIGONUS' LETTER TO SCEPSIS.

In the important inscription rescued, and published by the zeal of Mr. Arthur Munro (*Journal Hell. Studies*, xix., ii., p. 330 sq.), the lines 26-9 (A) are perhaps the only puzzling ones, and he has rightly pointed out the difficulties of the text. There is certainly a mistake to be rectified, and yet the sense is perfectly plain.

οὐτων δ' ἡ-  
μιν των προς Κασσανδρον και Λυσιμαχον συν-  
τετελεσμενων προς Πρεπελαον επεμψαν αν-  
τοκρατορα απεστειλεν Πτολεμαιος προς  
ημας πρεσβεις κ.τ.λ.

As Prepelaos appears already (l. 11) as the Ambassador sent to Antigonus concerning this treaty, we have him here sent again *αυτοκρατορα*, with full powers, and the first obvious emendation would be to insert *ημας*, sc. *προς ημας* Π. *επεμψαν*, which would give the right sense, if there were any connecting particle introducing the next clause about Ptolemy.

But here a connecting *δε* is so imperative, that it seems certain the whole preceding

part is merely dependent on the main clause Π. *απεστειλεν*.

Hence I take the clause about Prepelaos to have been a relative clause, and propose two ways of mending the error or omission of the stone-cutter. The first is to insert *α* after *προς*, which, though a single letter, will give us the sense—'for which purpose they sent P. with full powers.'

But as the preceding phrase tells us that these affairs were now arranged *προς* Κασσανδρον, &c., I think it most likely that *προς* Πρεπελαον is a continuation of the same phrase: 'our negotiations with K. and L. being settled with Prepelaos whom they sent with full powers Ptolemy sent us an embassy,' &c. In this case we shall only have to double the concluding *ο* of Prepelaon to get the sense: *Πρεπελαον ον επεμψαν αντ.* so assuming the most natural of all mistakes, the omission of a duplicated syllable.

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January 19, 1900.



## NOTES ON THE LATIN PROHIBITIVE.

In an investigation of the force of the tenses of the prohibitive in some of the authors of the Silver Age, the following facts have been noted. The authors covered are Persius, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, Statius, Juvenal, Martial, Curtius Rufus, Pliny the Younger, and Bährens' *Poetae Latini Minores*. I hope, as my engagements permit, to extend my investigations to the whole literature of the Empire, finally making a detailed presentation of the results secured.

Drager, *Hist. Syntax*, i 326, § 153 4, followed by Gildersleeve-Lodge, §271,n., states that *cave* or *cave ne* with the first or third person of the subjunctive never occurs after the classical period. I have noted six instances of the usage, always with the third person: Gratt. *Cyn.* 50; Plin. *Ep.* 5, 10, 2; Stat. *Theb.* 11, 111; Mart. 6, 79, 1, Mart. 7, 15, 6; Mart. 11, 102, 7.

Elmer, in his treatment of the supposed occurrence of *non* with the imperative in Ovid says (*Am. Jour. Philol.* xv. 327): "No other author, I believe, has been suspected of such barbarism." Kühner and Dräger are quoted in support of his view. Lane (§ 1582) says that *non* is used a few times from Ovid on, but gives no examples. In *Ilias Lat.* 1037, (Bährens), 'Non vitam mihi nec magnos concede favores,' there is the authority of at least one manuscript.

In the earlier language *cave* with the perfect subjunctive frequently occurs, there being 30 examples in Plautus and 34 of *ne*. In the Silver Latin, it has almost disappeared. My collections show only one case out of 26.

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RECENT WORKS ON THE RIGVEDA.<sup>1</sup>

## I.

A standard English translation of the Rigveda has been looked for at the hands of Professor Max Müller for more than a generation. In 1869 there appeared the first volume of such a translation, entitled *Hymns to the Maruts, or the Storm-gods*: but it included twelve hymns only, from a collection of which the range would be inadequately represented by the title *Book of the Thousand and One Hymns*. In 1891 a further volume appeared, bringing up the number of hymns to 49, and entitled *Hymns to the Maruts, Rudra, Vāyu, and Vāta*. This volume is published by the Clarendon Press, and is again entitled Part I., since it includes the hymns previously translated. In 1897 the Clarendon Press published a second part, containing

130 of the Agni hymns translated by the eminent German scholar Professor Oldenberg with Professor Max Müller's assistance. Professor Max Müller may fairly be congratulated upon having rightly appreciated from the first the conditions of a task of which the fulfilment must be left to others. No one would now deny that a standard translation of the Rigveda should be in prose, and that it requires a full commentary; nor will anyone entertain the hope that a 'complete, satisfactory, and final translation of the whole of the Rigveda' will ever be obtained. Nevertheless, the new volume marks very substantial progress, and may be no unfitting opportunity for a review which, by including in its scope other works of comparatively recent date, may afford some indication of the present position of Vedic studies to those who are not specialists in the subject.

<sup>1</sup> *Die Religion des Veda*, von HERMANN OLDENBERG. Berlin, 1894.

*Vedische Studien*, von RICHARD PISCHEL und KARL F. GELDNER. Stuttgart, 1888-1897.

*Vedic Mythology*, by A. A. MACDONELL. Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, Strassburg, 1897.

*Vedic Hymns*, pt. ii. Hymns to Agni, translated by HERMANN OLDENBERG. Sacred books of the East, vol. xlv. Oxford, 1897.

## II.

To the scholars of thirty years ago the Rigveda was encircled with a halo of antiquity which seemed to carry them back to the first struggles of thinking men to

confront the problems of the universe. Professor Max Müller could then speak of the hymns as 'the simple though strange expressions of primitive thought and primitive faith': he was convinced that the Veda would 'take and maintain for ever its position as the most ancient of books in the library of mankind.' To-day, although the absolute date assigned by Professor Max Müller to the Rigveda (about 1500 B.C.) may not be questioned, its primitive character no longer impresses the reader. It is recognised that both in matter and in form the hymns rather represent an era of decadence: they mark an effort to retain and stereotype the wisdom of the past. How many waves of continuous poetical or religious development preceded the era of our hymns it is impossible to conjecture: but it is clear that the poets cast their eyes backwards over a long past, which they only imperfectly understood or appreciated. The hymns of the Rigveda may in their present form be a few centuries older than our recension of the Homeric poems: but the two literatures are alike the final shape in which the inspiration of many preceding generations of professional bards has been recorded. The fundamental laws of metre being the same in the Vedic and the Homeric poems, we must necessarily infer that they are the work of two branches of the same family of poets: but we have no reason to conclude that the Rigveda represents to us forms of speculative thought substantially earlier than those that appear in Homer: in each case the earlier conceptions, which we may attribute to an Indo-European period which is at least relatively 'primitive,' have been overlaid by successive strata of religious or philosophical reforms.

In a too violent reaction from the 'primitive' theory of the Rigveda, Professors Pischel and Geldner have recently called upon us to regard the hymns as a 'distinctively Indian' product, and to interpret them far more closely in accordance with Indian tradition. Against this view Professor Oldenberg rightly protests, and he emphasises in particular the hundreds of phrases and the many objects of worship which are common to the Rigveda and the Avesta. 'We cannot conceal from ourselves,' he writes, 'that whole passages that we find in the Rigveda might have been recited, and probably were recited in the Indo-Iranian period in almost identical language.' For the authors of the 'Vedische Studien' an intimate knowledge of the native commentators is an indis-

pensable condition of the profitable study of the Rigveda. Without denying that fresh light may still be thrown upon isolated passages from these sources, experience shows that they are far more frequently the cause of misinterpretation. How can it be otherwise, seeing that the spirit of the Rigveda had been lost even in the times of the Brāhmanas, and that even then its verses were violently torn from their context, and their meaning distorted to suit a creed and a ceremonial that the authors of the hymns would never have recognised as their own?

But if we are obliged to use so much caution in employing outside help in the interpretation of the Rigveda, a danger of the same kind remains in interpreting one Vedic hymn by another. It is now fully recognised that our Rigveda contains a group of hymns, which we may reckon as about one-sixth of the whole, which is of markedly later date than the remainder. 'In this later period,' says Professor Oldenberg, 'the fixity of the ritual left little room and little need for poetical production of the older kind. On the other hand, there begins in this period the poetry of philosophical and cosmogonic speculation. There is an increase in the number of tales, originally composed partly in prose, and partly in verse, but of which the latter part alone is preserved to us. A literary accompaniment is given to a number of the less important ceremonials, as those that are concerned with marriage, burial, and exorcism.' In these later hymns is contained a mass of material of considerable interest to the modern world; but it must always be borne in mind that whilst the folklore, mythology, and cult which these hymns illustrate may be indefinitely old, the literary form is without question relatively modern: that exactly as in Greece and at Rome, the philosophical speculations are no key to the religion that preceded them, but represent a force which is steadily undermining that religion: and that in any case these poems can contribute little to the due understanding of the older part of the Rigveda, which alone consists of 'hymns' in the proper sense of the word.

### III.

To the earlier critics of the Rigveda it seemed easy to find a key to its general meaning. The worship of 'nature,' the sky, the sun, the storm, the rivers and the forests, seems intelligible enough to the civilised man, especially when he shakes himself free

during a summer holiday from the trammels which habit and tradition impose upon his own speculations. In the hymns of the Veda, as in the religion of Greece and Rome, there is a certain space occupied by these 'natural objects.' The comparison of Indo-European tongues points to a supreme god, Dyaus, Zeus, or Jove, whose name is identical with that of the sky. The Indian traditions readily resort to similar interpretations of the names of other deities. It was too hastily concluded that Vedic worship as a whole was based upon similar conceptions.<sup>1</sup> In particular, the meaning of the worship of the god Agni has been greatly misunderstood, and its importance overrated, in consequence of ill-founded pre-conceptions of this kind.

One fifth of the hymns of the Rigveda are addressed to Agni, the fire-god; and in the most conspicuous collections these hymns are always placed first. It may seem easy to infer that Agni was the chief or at least one of the highest gods of the Vedic Pantheon. The Indian scholiasts freely recognise the deity in the Sun and in the Lightning: and the former view in particular seems to harmonise with his supposed high rank. Yet Professor Oldenberg rightly states<sup>2</sup> that such conclusions have but little foundation. 'It is very seldom,' he says, 'that there is any mention of that side of Agni's nature which corresponds to the sun': whilst 'a relationship with the lightning is only an occasional ornamentation of the figure of Agni.'<sup>3</sup> The very fact that Agni is so frequently compared to sun and lightning shows that his nature is conceived as essentially different. In the main the Agni of the Rigveda is the ceremonial fire kindled by the priests by means of attrition. He is first of the gods, because he is lowest and nearest to his worshippers: he dwells close by them on earth, others in the far distance. He is most frequently addressed, not so much because the theme is inspiring as because it is simple. An adoration similar in principle, though less

extended, is paid to the stones which press out the sacred drink, the milk with which it is mixed, the mat of grass on which it is placed, and the fee which is paid to the celebrant. Equal in rank with Agni is 'King Soma,' the sacred drink itself, to whom an almost equal number of hymns is addressed. The material instruments of worship have therefore become the objects of worship; we are surrounded already by the pedantry of a priestly caste, destined to reach maturity in the course of time in that gigantic monument of literary folly, the Indian Brāhmanas. For an explanation of the original form of this worship we must look to an earlier period, for our poets themselves find it a mystery. They have inherited it from their ancestor Manus, and their highest aim is to perform the rite 'as Manus did.' That worship by means of fire and the soma-drink was inherited from the Indo-Iranian period seems clear, since they occupy much the same place in the Zoroastrian worship. But it was probably not of any such early cult that our poets were dimly conscious as the true aim of their worship, and we can only trace with clearness the stages immediately preceding the Vedic period.

Besides Agni and Soma, the most conspicuous figure in the Rigveda is Indra, and in the earliest hymns he is by far the most prominent of the three. Traces of Indo-European antiquity may be found in connexion with Indra: he wields as his mace the thunder-bolt of heaven, and cleaves the rock to rescue the imprisoned cows. Yet in the Rigveda Indra has little claim to higher rank than Agni. The poets are conscious of him as a rebel deity, who has pushed aside the lawful reign of his predecessor. The Avesta does not recognise him at all as a god: his drunken habits, as Prof. Oldenberg suggests, stood in too violent contrast to the spirituality of Zoroastrianism, and caused his forcible removal from the regions of heaven. But the warrior-princes of the earliest Vedic period delighted to hear the story of Indra; his example stimulated them to force open the castles of their foes, to appropriate their cows, and to celebrate their victories with barrels of intoxicating drink. To this taste the priestly caste accommodated themselves upon terms, and the Indra of the princes and the Agni of the priests swore brotherly alliance. Yet kings and priests alike remained conscious that they had pushed aside deities more wise, more spiritual, and even more powerful:

<sup>1</sup> The 'primitive' character of nature-worship in the sense referred to is of course no longer generally assumed. Cf. ROBERTSON SMITH, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 127. "Among the Semites the worship of sun, moon and stars does not appear to have had any great vogue in the earliest times. Among the Hebrews there is little trace of it before Assyrian influence became potent, and in Arabia it is by no means so prominent as is sometimes supposed."

<sup>2</sup> *Religion des Veda*, pp. 108, 109.

<sup>3</sup> The evidence is also collected by Professor Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 92, 93. This writer candidly admits the comparative rareness of such allusions.

deities whose names they still mentioned with respect, and whose possible anger might yet strike or ensnare them. We are thus brought to the conception of a group of gods which is immediately pre-Vedic, and yet not necessarily primitive: gods in whose honour the fire had been kindled and the soma pressed before Indra and Agni eclipsed their majesty, though even these are not necessarily the gods in whose honour these ceremonies were invented. The true character of this pre-Vedic worship has not, I think, been fully brought out by any recent writers,<sup>1</sup> but Prof. Oldenberg's chapter on 'Varuna, Mitra, and the Ādityas' leads in the right direction. 'We come now,' he writes,<sup>2</sup> 'to a circle of gods sharply distinguished from all others. They are not characterized by the greatness of their deeds, but by the fixity of their nature, and by the unchanging character of the laws by which they work.' But when he continues: 'two great gods, Mitra and Varuna, stand at their head, and of these the latter is the greatest of all,'<sup>3</sup> and when he sums up their attributes in the words 'heaven, light, sun,'<sup>4</sup> he seems to be going beyond his authority, and to be establishing a new nature-deity or nature-deities in a period to which such conceptions were foreign.

The theory that the Sanskrit Varuna is identical with the Greek Οὐρανός is an etymological guess, which is in no way supported by the description of this god in the Rigveda, in which he appears as Ruler, Lawgiver, and Judge. The Sanskrit Mitra is undoubtedly connected with Avestan 'Mithra,' and so indirectly with sun-worship: but the Mitra of the Rigveda is only the Friend and Ally of his worshippers. With these in the oldest hymns of the Rigveda is joined a third deity Aryaman, whose title, though obscure, at least suggests no physical attribute. But the number of deities in the group cannot be limited to three; the analogy of the Avesta as well as the precise statements of the later Rigveda fix it at seven: and there is to my mind little doubt that the four remaining names are Savitar (the quickener), Bhaga (prosperity), Daksha (wisdom), and Aṅga (share). But whatever the precise names or number of these gods, their general character is clear: they belong to the world of law and moral order, not to the physical universe. They

are not primitive deities, and only one is even Indo-Iranian in name. Yet they present in their general character a close analogy to the Archangels of the Zoroastrian creed, and they point to an analogous reform of religious worship.<sup>5</sup> The history of their decay may easily be conjectured, and indeed traced in the hymns. The whole group is first referred to by the names of the three first members only: then the name of Aryaman slips out, though in one case at least the plurality of the group is still indicated by the use of the plural, not the dual number, in the corresponding verbs<sup>6</sup>; then Mitra becomes obscured, and Varuna alone represents the old order: whilst a varying number of the old names is still grouped in catalogues by the side of Indra Agni and other gods under the title of Adityāh. But in reality Varuna was never worshipped as supreme god: amidst many changes the old supremacy of Dyaus was still vaguely recognised,<sup>7</sup> and Varuna was but one of a group of his agents: and the more primitive the hymns we examine, the more fully is the equality of his companions recognised.

#### IV.

From the evidence of the Rigveda, as summarized above, it is possible to deduce a history of the general development of religious thought within its scope, if a few links may be supplied by the imagination upon the analogy of cognate religions. Upon the basis of a more primitive system, in which folk-lore, nature-worship, and social usage each played their part, some Indian Zoroaster, possessed of the ideas which were more fully accepted by the Iranians, endeavoured to establish a humane and logical creed. The worship of Dyaus, the kindling of the sacred fire, the pressing of the Soma he left undisturbed<sup>8</sup>: but he

<sup>5</sup> See Ludwig's admirable remarks, *Rigveda*, iii. pp. 314-317.

<sup>6</sup> *Rigveda*, iv. 13, 2.

<sup>7</sup> The use of fire as an instrument of worship is certainly very consistent with the supposition that a celestial deity was at the same time its object. Cf. ROBERTSON SMITH, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 107. "In later times celestial gods predominate, as we see from the prevalence of sacrifice by fire, in which the homage of the worshipper is directed upwards in the pillar of savoury smoke that rises from the altar towards the seat of the godhead in the sky."

<sup>8</sup> The conception of Dyaus is however changed. He ceases to be closely associated with the physical heaven: he becomes 'Father' and 'Lord': and his residence is in 'the highest place.' The history of

<sup>1</sup> The discussion in A. LUDWIG's *Rigveda*, vol. iii. seems to me still to hold the field.

<sup>2</sup> *Religion des Veda*, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> *ib.* pp. 185, 186.

<sup>4</sup> *ib.* p. 189.



gave a more important position to deities of a pronounced moral and law-abiding character, probably to the precise number of seven. A later and more warlike generation revolted against ideas that were too abstract, and rules that were too sober for them. The kings chose Indra as their hero, the priests Agni: by both classes, but for different reasons, the Soma deity was equally honoured. The moral deities were treated with uniform respect, but with diminishing attention, until their names became almost as obscure as that of Dyaus himself. But at the same time nature-worship gradually revived: the Sun, the Wind, the Lightning, the Dawn, and the pair Earth and Heaven<sup>1</sup> came into honour: and (as I hope to show) Agni developed the character of an elemental and all-pervading deity. A little later, and all these gods alike lose their dignity: the ritual limits their power, and a new philosophy explains away their individuality: and the ranks of the degraded deities are joined by a crowd of spirits, some from river and forest, others sprung from vague traditions of the beginning of the human race, and from the fears of those to whom sickness and witchcraft are ever present dangers. Amongst these Agni retains his position, becoming the most skilful of medicine-men: and the religion of Northern India, owing to the collapse of the superstructure raised by men of loftier ideals, assumes a character which corresponds generally to our present conceptions of a primitive religion, and which in many important particulars may well have been identical with the beliefs and cults of a period many hundred years older.

## V.

In his *Religion des Veda*, Professor Oldenberg gives his views of the development of the worship of Agni, beginning with pre-Vedic times. In the *Rigveda* Agni strikes down the evil spirits and consumes their castles. Oldenberg remarks that 'this function of Agni is derived from the oldest of all the functions of fire, in the cult even of the most barbarous peoples'.<sup>2</sup> To the Indo-Iranian period he ascribes the personification

this development is admirably treated in Bradke's pamphlet *Dyaus Asura und die Asuren*. The Dyaus who appears in the *Rigveda* by the side of Prithivi (earth) appears to be practically a new deity of lower rank.

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> *Religion des Veda*, p. 128.

of Agni as 'the strong, pure, wise, and generous god, the protector of his worshipper and the destroyer of his worshipper's foes'. 'Obviously later,' he says, is the conception of Agni as priest. Nevertheless this conception is prominent throughout the *Rigveda*, and nowhere more than in its earliest hymns, in which the constant prayer goes to Agni as priest to 'bring hither the company of the gods,' so that gods and men may take part in their common feast. It might with advantage be pointed out that the only form of 'sacrifice' prominent in these hymns is that of the sacred feasts, and that the gods who are invited to share it are chiefly those of the group Mitra Varuna Aryaman . . . , that is, the gods of the last pre-Vedic period.

In sharp contrast to this strongly personified conception of Agni as king and priest is the mysticism which pervades a great number of the Agni hymns, of which 140 may be taken as a type. Professor Oldenberg says that the 'anthropomorphism of Agni is less developed than that of Indra'. This is hardly true of the earliest and simplest Agni hymns: and it should be said instead that the anthropomorphic conception at a certain stage gave way to an entirely different view. The influence at work is that of 'priestly speculation, delighting in plays on words, and in fanciful exchanges of names, conceptions and similes'. Agni is no longer a god, but a divine element: and the subject-matter of the hymns is his 'births,' 'appearances,' or 'homes,' or as we should perhaps say, his manifestations.

The 'births' of Agni are double or triple. The 'two-fold births' are according to Oldenberg, in heaven and on earth: but as the context more often suggests, amongst gods and amongst men. The birth in heaven is explained as the appearance of Agni in the Sun: for Oldenberg rejects the view that the heavenly Agni is, in any appreciable number of instances, the Lightning. But it cannot truly be said that the sun is clearly indicated in such passages: priestly speculation had already convinced itself that the earthly 'sacrifice' or rite was the counterpart of a heavenly sacrifice, or rather an imitation of it. Various myths recount how the fire was brought from heaven to earth: but it is by no means

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 105.

<sup>5</sup> Fischel and Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, Introduction, p. xxvii.



plain that the heavenly fire was the Sun any more than the Lightning.

The 'triple births' of Agni are variously enumerated, but amongst them the birth 'in the waters' is always prominent. Again Oldenberg rejects the theory that the Lightning is indicated. That the 'waters' are earthly, not heavenly, is shown by their constant association with the plants: the 'waters' must therefore be those which furnish the nourishment of the plants, and form an essential condition of all animal and vegetable life. These waters are not found in any one place: rather they are elemental and all-pervading: and in the expression 'child of the waters,'<sup>1</sup> we find, even in the Indo-Iranian period, a personification of this element. The identification of the 'child of the waters' with Agni belongs, as Oldenberg points out, to the Vedic period. In what sense then can it be said that fire dwells in the waters? Oldenberg I think is right in supposing that the fire spoken of is 'a vital force residing in the heart of all things,'<sup>2</sup> an element akin to the ideal 'fire' of the Stoic philosophy, but described as 'breath' in the system of the Brāhmanas, and as 'spirit' in modern times. In this sense the theological statement that 'Agni dwells in the waters,' corresponds to the scientific view that fluid elements maintain and diffuse the principle of life. If this is the interpretation of the birth 'in the waters,' those 'on the earth,' and 'in the heaven' are probably similar in kind, and the last is not in essence either Sun or Lightning, although these material objects may occasionally be chosen as illustrations of the working of a force or element everywhere diffused.

The cult of the elemental Agni is the most striking original feature of the Rigveda. Oldenberg says that 'the conception of "Agni in the water" is living and real to the poet,' and 'no petrified expression borrowed from a myth which has become unintelligible.'<sup>3</sup> and to it applies with much force the statement of the authors of the *Vedische Studien* that 'the Agni mythology is distinctively Indian, and altogether modern, the immediate forerunner of the mysticism of the Brāhmanas.'<sup>4</sup>

The same conception will serve to explain a number of terms, of which the majority are left untranslated in the *Sacred Books*, and which have never yet been interpreted on any homogeneous principle. We cannot,

I believe, be far wrong in interpreting Jātavedas as 'he who has all living things as his possession,' Tanūnapāt as 'the principle of bodily life,'<sup>5</sup> Narāṇsa as 'the spirit of mankind,' and so forth. Similarly, Agni as 'sūnūh çāvasah' is 'son,' that is, personification 'of strength.' That the sacrificial fire is ignited by an exercise of manual strength on the part of the priests is an illustration, not an explanation of the title.

At the end of the Vedic period this conception is, in the main, lost. Agni is in the waters because he has hidden there for fear of the gods, who are summoning him to act as their priest. Philosophy has become petrified in myth.

## VI.

The views here summarised can be fitly illustrated and tested from the admirable collection of material to be found in Prof. Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*. The writer indeed seems personally to incline rather to the theories of the older generation of Vedic scholars in Europe, as, for instance, when he endeavours to sustain the explanation of Varuṇa as a deity of the sky, and the identification of the name with the Greek Οὐρανός. Nevertheless, Prof. Macdonell has produced a book which, without claiming to be an original treatise on its subject, will be of the highest value to all students of the Veda; a book entirely unrivalled both in its fulness of reference, and in the fairness and completeness with which the views of others are summarised, Professor Oldenberg's views, in particular, have evidently received very careful attention from the author, and appear to have won his respect, and, in many points, his approval.

On the other hand, the authors of the *Vedische Studien* take a very strong stand in opposition to the views of Professor Oldenberg, 'even in his latest publications.'<sup>6</sup> In so doing, they admit that they are opposing the general consensus of European scholars, and they raise the cry, 'India for the Indians,'<sup>7</sup> or, in other words, 'The Rigveda for Sāyana and the native commentators.' European scholars, these writers urge, have been misled by two false theories, the one, that the matter of the Rigveda can be explained by Indo-European mythology or 'folklore,' the other, that its language can

<sup>1</sup> Apam Napāt.

<sup>2</sup> *Religion des Veda*, p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> *Religion des Veda*, p. 112.

<sup>4</sup> Introduction to Part I., p. xxvii.

<sup>5</sup> The 'anima' of Lucretius.

<sup>6</sup> *Vedische Studien*, ii. p. v.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* p. 322.

be interpreted by comparative philology. Sāyana, on the other hand, 'has grasped the true character of the Rigveda far better than the European interpreters,'<sup>1</sup> because the Rigveda was always 'specifically Indian,' and its ideas were still in force in his own time; and he rightly interpreted the words because tradition, 'earlier than the period of the Brāhmaṇas,'<sup>2</sup> had been handed down to him. In the first volume of the *Studien* these views were stated with considerable qualifications, and were the occasion of a genuine advance in interpretation. It was then quite true that the theory, which may shortly be called the 'sun-myth' theory, and the practice of explaining words by the 'roots' from which they were supposed to be derived, had been carried by European scholars to extremes which made progress impossible. But it must not be forgotten that for these faults Sāyana and the Indian tradition are directly responsible, and that the 'folklorists' and comparative philologists of the present day no longer follow the views of their predecessors. Again, Professors Pischel and Geldner have had great success in connecting more intimately the elaborate myths which appear in the latest hymns of the Rigveda with those which are found in the Brāhmaṇas. These two periods of literature are at least in direct succession; but it is still an unproved and, indeed, a most improbable, hypothesis that we still possess a tradition of the Vedic hymns, reaching to an earlier period than the Brāhmaṇas. It is, indeed, admitted that the 'Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras can only be used to a very limited extent for the right understanding of the Rigveda';<sup>3</sup> in other words, that they embody a huge scheme of pedantic misuse of these documents.

The interpretations of Sāyana give a bewildering freedom of choice to his readers, and amongst them may often be found a suggestion which throws unexpected light on particular words or phrases. But the general views of Sāyana have no such claim on our regard: and unfortunately it is just at this point that our authors abandon the critical attitude which they practice so successfully in details.<sup>4</sup> I propose to illustrate by three examples the uncritical spirit in which these writers accept the native views of the character of Vedic deities.

1. Aditi, the mother of the group of gods called Adityas, is according to Max Müller

'The Infinite':<sup>5</sup> whilst according to the Indian tradition, which Pischel accepts 'without any question,'<sup>6</sup> she is the Earth. The word as an adjective means, as seems agreed, 'inexhaustibly bounteous,' and it is used as an epithet of various deities, as well as of the streams, and also, very appropriately of the bounteous earth, as in A.V. 12. 1. 61. But that the poets of the Rigveda did not think of Aditi as the Earth seems clear from the fact that it is invariably Prithivī, not Aditi, who is coupled with Dyaus. Pischel explains that 'Aditi is the mythological figure, Prithivī the natural element,'<sup>6</sup> a distinction which seems to me quite foreign to Vedic thought. The Vedic conceptions of Aditi are correctly stated by Macdonell<sup>7</sup> as two: (1) she is the mother of the Adityas (2) she has the power of releasing from the bonds of physical suffering and moral guilt. The latter conception, being also prominently connected with Varuṇa the Adityas, may well be derived from the former. The natural inference seems to me to be that the name of Aditi the goddess is a purely verbal abstraction from the title Adityah.<sup>8</sup> Max Müller's attractive interpretation lacks corroboration, and has not been adopted by any other Vedists: whilst the Indian interpretation, far from being shown to be derived from a tradition older than the Brāhmaṇas, merely recalls the later use of the adjective Aditi.

2. With regard to Agni, the *Vedische Studien* accept in numerous passages the native theory that Agni is the Sun or the Lightning: a view acceptable to naturalist interpreters, both European and Indian. The fact that the two interpretations are offered in so many passages must however weaken our belief in both: and it is impossible to agree that 'without hesitation we may accept the views of the commentators that "Agni dwelling in the waters" was conceived in the Rigveda in two forms, as

ii. p. 243. 'If I find that the interpretation of a word or phrase which is established in classical Sanskrit or is given by the lexicographers suits all passages in which the word or phrase occurs in the Veda, I interpret the Veda accordingly: if it does not suit them, I abandon the interpretation and go my way without troubling about classical Sanskrit or the lexicographers.'

<sup>5</sup> *Rigveda*, vol. i. (1869), pp. 230 seq.

<sup>6</sup> *V.S.* ii. p. 86.

<sup>7</sup> *Vedic Mythology*, p. 122.

<sup>8</sup> So Oldenberg remarks (*Religion des Veda*, p. 203) that the goddess Aditi is, historically considered, younger than her children. How he reconciles this statement with his own view that Aditi is a 'cow-goddess or rather cow-fetish belonging to a very low grade of myth-formation' I do not know.

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* p. iv.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 268.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> The principle is thus stated in *Vedische Studien*,

Lightning in the clouds, and as a suboceanic fire,' and that 'both forms of this Agni are united in the figure of Apām Napāt<sup>1</sup>.'

3. The high god Varuṇa is according to many European scholars, the sky; according to Oldenberg,<sup>2</sup> originally the Moon. Neither of these theories finds any distinct countenance in the Rigveda. But in the later mythology Varuṇa was a god of the sea: and this view is now accepted by Pischel and Geldner as true for the whole of the Rigveda. In the preface to Part I, indeed, they speak of him as 'the old king of the gods, who has little by little been pushed from his place by Indra, the head of a younger race of gods.'<sup>3</sup> But now we are told that 'from the beginning Varuṇa was a god of the sea and waters, and did not take up this position only at a later period':<sup>4</sup> that he is at all times an 'almost demonic figure,'<sup>5</sup> that 'he is bald-headed, diseased, with red eyes, and projecting teeth.'<sup>6</sup> This description, taken from the Brāhmanas, is obviously inconsistent with the Varuṇa of the Rigveda, the mighty ruler of the moral and physical world. But even of the more cautious statement that Varuṇa is a water-god, the evidence is of the slenderest. To show this, and at the same time to recall his true character, I translate here two verses for which a single phrase is

quoted apart from its context to bear out a preconceived conclusion:—

'Ye two that rule over the space in heaven and on earth, let festal offerings of butter be poured forth to you: let Mitra and Aryaman of noble birth, and the king Varuṇa of wide realm accept our sacrifice.

'Ye kings that are guardians of the mighty Orders, lords of the rivers, of royal rank, come to meet us: Mitra and Varuṇa send us rain and sustenance from heaven, for life-giving are your streams.'<sup>7</sup>

It will be observed that the title 'lord of the rivers' is only one of many titles applied to Mitra and Varuṇa, or to Mitra, Varuṇa and Aryaman, and that it is universal, not local supremacy, which is attributed to all three alike.

This passage therefore entirely fails to corroborate the 'Indian theory': and the other passages quoted in the *Vedische Studien* are substantially open to the same objections.

These aberrations, however, affect comparatively little the value of the work of Professors Pischel and Geldner in detail: their learning and acumen have rendered the greatest services to Vedic study, and their fundamental principle, that 'with the prevailing theory that all deities are to be explained as natural phenomena we can make no progress,'<sup>8</sup> is, in my opinion, thoroughly sound.

E. V. ARNOLD.

<sup>1</sup> *V.S.* ii. p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> *Religion des Veda*, p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> *Vedische Studien*, i. p. xxvii.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* ii. p. 125. <sup>5</sup> *Ib.* p. 292. <sup>6</sup> *Ib.* p. 292, note.

<sup>7</sup> *Rigveda*, vii. 64, 1, 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Vedische Studien*, ii. p. 231.

## NOTES.

BACCHYLIDES X. (XI.), 118.

ἄλσος τέ τοι ἱμερὲν  
κάσταν παρ' εὐδύον πρόγονοι  
οἱ ἐσσάμενοι, Πριάμοι' ἐπεὶ χρόνῳ κ.τ.λ.

Read πρόγονοι  
οἱ ἐσσάμενοι

This is a simpler correction (πορῶνοι could very easily have been corrupted, in such a context, to πρόγονοι) than other proposals with which I am acquainted; it gives better sense; and it improves the metre (πρόγον corresponding to κάμνον and βροτῶν). 'The founders (of the city) gave you a lovely grove, when,' &c., οἱ ἐσσάμενοι scil. Μεταπόντιοι are the Ἀχαιοί of l. 115. For the use of ἱμερῶν with ἄλσος cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 259 ἱμερῶν Λιβύας πεδίων.

J. B. BURY.

Whatever may have been the oratorical shortcomings of the youthful Cicero (see *Plut. Cic.* 3 ff.; *Cic. Brut.* 91, 316), it is demonstrably certain that an awkward delivery, such as was noted in the young Demosthenes, was not one of them, nor can Plutarch have thought so, as ch. 3 ext. 4 ext. 5 ext. are sufficient to show. On the other hand, the high importance which both Demosthenes and Cicero always attached to an appropriate delivery is amply attested by such passages as *Pseudo-Plut. Vitae X. Orat.* 845 B; *Cic. de Orat.* iii. 56, 213; *Brut.* 38, 142; and it is doubtless this very coincidence of conviction that the biographer wished to point out here.

Now the sense called for will be secured if, instead of the objectionable νοήσας, we read, with an extremely simple change, νοήσας, i.e. 'It is recorded that Cicero, also, thought no less highly of delivery than did Demosthenes.'

A. GUDEMAN

ON PLUTARCH, *Cic.* 5.—Λέγεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἥττον νοήσας τοῦ Δημοσθένους πρὸς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν.

## ON MANILIUS V. 555 sq. and 133.

supplicia ipsa decent : niuea ceruice reclinis  
moliter ipsa suae custos est ipsa figurar.

The three *ipsa*'s in two lines are insufferable, and either the second or the third superfluous. Critics have generally removed the last and disagree profoundly about its substitute. But it is the second, which appears to have come from the preceding verse, that should be the object of attack. *Illa* seems an easy and unobjectionable correction. I take this opportunity of stating that the word which I proposed for fundamenta, v. 133, 'illa (the she-goat) Tonanti | fulcimenta dedit' in *Silva Maniliana*, p. 45 had already occurred to Prof. M. Warren (*American Journal of Philology*, xiii. p. 102, in a review of Ellis's *Noctes Manilianae*). Whether Prof. Warren understood it as I do (as meaning *alimenta*), I do not know; but if he did, he should not have illustrated it by 'Phocas Vita Vergilii 27 (said of Terra) herbida supposit pueri fulmenta nitescens.'<sup>1</sup>

J. P. POSTGATE.

## THE ETYMOLOGY OF εἰχομαι.

Εἰχομαι is usually compared (see Prellwitz, *Etym. Wörterbuch* s.v.) with the Vedic *vāghat* 'prayer'

<sup>1</sup> I wish also to correct an error in a detail in my note on Manilius V. 372. Bentley based his *suo* on the reading of a 'Venetus codex' in which he actually found *suos*.

'offerer' and Latin *oro*; but this derivation fails to account for the sense of 'claiming' 'boasting' &c. in εἰχομαι εἰναι. In Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* xxxv pp. 501-3 Baunack, writing of 'Bhuiyu, ein Schützling der Agvin,' has a discussion of the root *ah*, to which he ascribes two senses, (1) *sich gelten machen vor anderen bei einem Wettstreit* 'to assert one's superiority in any kind of competition,' (2)—transitive—'to assign superiority to.' The former is illustrated by *anyo net sūrir chate bhūridāvattaro janah* 'no other proves himself a more liberal lord' *yayoh cātur nakir adeva ohaṭe* 'whose enemy no godless man may boast himself,' the latter by *devāḥ oḥānah* 'honouring the gods.' So we have the noun (instrumental) *oḥasā* 'in estimation,' and *oḥabrahman* 'a proven priest.' Although Baunack has thrown new light on the word, the senses given are neither entirely new nor doubtful, as may be seen by a reference to the dictionaries of Grassman and Böhtlingk and Koth. *Oha* is actually given by the latter as meaning 'devotion' (*andacht*). But Baunack has brought out the double signification in a way which clearly shows the connection with εἰχομαι. The sense of 'praying' is therefore that of εἰχομαι in *πρῶτον μὲν εὐχῇ τῇδε πρεσβεύω θεῶν τὴν πρωτόμαντι γαίαν*.

This etymology is mentioned in the form of rejection by Uhlenbech (*El. Wb. d. Altind. Spr. s.v. ohaṭe*), who however has not observed how strongly it is supported by the meaning.

F. W. THOMAS.

## REVIEWS.

## ADAM'S HESIOD AND PINDAR.

*A Comparative Study of Hesiod and Pindar.*

By JOHN SCOTT ADAMS. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press. pp. 47. 1899.

THAT Pindar was a close student of Hesiod, whom he once quotes by name and often refers to by indirect allusion, is no secret to readers of the former poet. Not that Pindar stood alone in this respect, for strains of Hesiod's teaching shoot thickly through the web of all succeeding literature. His poems formed the Bible of the Greeks. Along with Homer, to quote a familiar passage of Herodotus, it was Hesiod 'who created for the Greeks their theogony, assigned to be gods their titles, distinguished their prerogatives and functions and specified their characteristics.' And Aeschines, quoting *Op.* 203. f., observes that such γνῶμαι were learned in childhood that they might be practised in manhood, while from later writers we gather that the 'Works and Days' was still a school-book in the fourth century of our era (*Libanius* 1,

502: iv. 874). But the works of the old Ascræan moralist had a special claim on his fellow-countryman, Pindar; and a clear statement of the relation between the two Boeotian poets would doubtless be welcome to students of either. Such a statement is here attempted by Mr. Adams, and the material he has collected is by no means devoid of value. His methods, however, hardly merit unqualified approval. To begin with, he sows with the sack. Dividing his subject under three main heads—Religious beliefs, Mythology and Language—he proceeds to quote the same passages often twice and sometimes three times under successive divisions. Thus, to take one of many instances, *Op.* 353 τὸν φιλέοντα φιλεῖν is first compared with *P.* ii 83 φίλον εἶη φιλεῖν to illustrate the view of 'Man in relation to Fellow-men' common to both poets and the same passage recurs a few pages later to exemplify their similarity in language. Again on p. 32-3 the reader is presented with more than forty of the



veriest Homeric commonplaces, 'in none' of which, Mr. Adams naively admits, 'can it be assumed that Pindar was under the influence of Hesiod, although he may have been.' This straining of the legitimate use of evidence proves too much, and, by swelling Mr. Adams's pamphlet to some 45 pages of parallels, enables him to present a more plausible case than the facts warrant. He would have deserved better of his readers had he noted some of the less obvious echoes of Hesiod in Pindar. Thus the λόγος ('proverb,' of *N.* iii. 29: iv. 31: ix. 6) of *P.* i. 35 is surely the familiar ἀρχὴ δέ τοι ἤμιν παντός; and the whole passage (*P.* iv. 79 ff), describing the dress of Iason, is clearly written under the influence of Hesiod: there Iason, who has been ploughing in the mountains (76, cf. schol.) is made to observe the rules implied in *Op.* 388 ff for the dress of mountaineers, as a protection against the 'shivering showers' (φρίσσοντας ὑμβροῦς *P.* iv. 81: cf. *Op.* 540).

Further, in many cases an examination of the context will raise a doubt, whether Mr. Adams's alleged parallels are really parallel at all. Thus *Op.* 366 πῆμα δὲ θυμῷ χρηίζειν ἀπεινός means something quite different from *P.* iii. 21 παπταίνει τὰ πόρσω; nor does *Op.* 25 κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ give the same thought as *P.* i. 84 ἀκοὰ ἀστῶν κρύφιον θυμὸν βαρύνει κτλ. So (*p.* 10) *I.* ii. 11 χρήματα χρήματ' ἀνὴρ is not due to *Op.* 686, but is directly referred by Pindar to an anonymous 'Argive,' as Mr. Adams himself remembers in a later citation of the passage (*p.* 40); and it is surely an error to quote *Op.* 47 to show that 'Zeus was easily deceived by Prometheus': in that passage ἐξαπάτησε means 'cheated' of the flesh, not 'deceived' which Zeus certainly was not (*Theog.* 551: γυνὴ ῥ' οὐδ' ἠγνοίησε δόλον).

The section on Mythology is less open to criticism: here Mr. Adams gives an

interesting list of cases where Pindar deserts Homer for Hesiod in his versions of the legends of the gods. To his note on Hephaestus (*p.* 19) should be added *N.* vi. 63, where that god is referred to as Daedalus. He gives a new and probably true interpretation of *N.* xi. 1 πρώταν θεῶν, 'first-born of the gods,' quoting *Theog.* 453: and on *P.* iv. 227, ὀρθὸς δ' αἰλακας ἐναντίσας ἤλαν', he seems right in joining αἰλακας with ἤλαν' on the strength of *Op.* 443 ἰθείαν αἰλακ' ἐλαύνει. Elsewhere Mr. Adams is less successful in controverting received views: on *p.* 38 he rejects the MSS. reading of *N.* iii. 14 παλαίφατον ἀγοράν, 'which neither gives an adequate meaning nor satisfies the metre; a spondee, not an anapaest, being required.' Well, it satisfied Bergk's view of the metre, for he keeps ἀγοράν, and it may be noted that in this very poem παραμύβει (27) corresponds to κατέμαρψεν (35); while, as for the meaning, a wholly adequate sense results by comparing *Πυθίου Θεάριον* (70), for that building, the victor's dwelling-place, no doubt stood in the marketplace of Aegina, as did the Temple of Apollo (*Müller* 'Aegina' *p.* 146).

May it be permitted in conclusion to protest against the old heresy, which dies so hard, that Pindar was an Aegeid? Mr. Adams seems to share in this view, describing the poet as 'an aristocrat' (*p.* 1). There is really not a shred of evidence to support it, except the erroneous interpretation of *P.* v. 75, where the words φῶρες Αἰγείδαι, ἐμοὶ πατέρες are clearly spoken, not by Pindar, but by the Cyrenean chorus (cf. *Studniczka* 'Kyrene,' *p.* 94: *Pauly* s. v. Aegeidae). Pindar was an itinerant singer for pay, and such a position is wholly inconsistent with membership in the priestly and noble caste of the Aegeids.

W. T. LENDRUM.

#### FENNELL'S NEMEANS AND ISTHMIANS OF PINDAR.

*Pindar: The Nemean and Isthmian Odes. With Notes, Explanatory and Critical, Introductions and Introductory Essays, by C. A. M. FENNELL, Litt. D., etc. New Edition. (Cambridge University Press.) pp. xvi. 275. 1899. 9s.*

DR. FENNELL has done a good deal of work in the way of excision and remodelling on

his edition of 1883, but his views in general remain unchanged, with regard alike to points of interpretation and to wider questions such as the organization of the Pentathlon. Among the few passages in which a novel view is taken we may congratulate the editor on restoring sane grammar in *Nem.* i. 8 by taking ἀρχαὶ θεῶν to mean 'a foundation of gods (for stones)';



i.e. the gods (or the mention of them) are the foundation-stones on which the ode is to be built. The present writer has independently reached the same conclusion, or perhaps been led to it by some one else. Dr. Fennell has also strengthened his interpretation of *Nem.* v. 44 by regarding ὁμόσπορον ἔρνος as an accusative, and has been wise, we think, in adopting the βλάβεν of the Vatican in *Nem.* vii. 17, where he makes a new point by giving to σοφοὶ the special meaning of 'poets.'

In other cases he cannot command so ready an assent, for example, when he reads

γόνον (preferring it to γόνον on unsatisfactory palaeographical grounds) for ὕμνον in *Nem.* iv. 16 and when he emends διδάσκειτο for αἰσέται in line 90: nor is his emendation of *Nem.* vi. 52, 53 βαρὺ δέ σφι νέικος Ἀχιλεὺς ἔμπαιε χαμαὶ καταβᾶς ἀφ' ἀρμάτων convincing.

The new edition is decidedly better printed than the old; but the title-page still omits to mention the *Fragments*, which occupy forty-eight pages.

GILBERT DAVIES.

# FORMAN'S INDEX TO ANDOCIDES, LYCURGUS AND DINARCHUS.

*Index Andocideus, Lycurgeus, Dinarcheus,*  
confectus a L. L. FORMAN, Ph.D. Oxford  
(Clarendon Press). 1897. Pp. 91. 7s. 6d.

THE Index to Demosthenes (1892) and Aeschines (1896) by Preuss, to Lysias (1895) by D. H. Holmes, and to Antiphon (1895) by Van Cleef, is now followed by Forman's Index to three more of the Attic Orators—Andocides, Lycurgus, and Dinarchus. Even a cursory inspection of the Index to Lycurgus and Dinarchus is enough to prove that (as might have been expected) their vocabulary is practically identical with that of their great contemporary Demosthenes; but a careful comparison of the Index to Andocides shows that it includes as many as 112 words not found in Demosthenes. In the following list I distinguish words found in the fragments alone by f., and those occurring only in the fourth speech, *Against Alcibiades*, by (4), this speech being generally regarded as spurious.

ἀγωνοθέταις (4)  
ἀμιλλᾶσθαι (4)  
ἀνεβίω  
ἀνακηρύττονται  
ἀνανδρίας  
ἀναυμαχίου  
ἀνηράσθη  
ἀνηλεῶς (4)  
ἀνθρακεντάς, f.  
ἀνωρθίζον  
ἀντεπιθυμοῦσι (4)  
ἀντωνεῖτο  
ἀπαγχομένη  
ἀπεκερδαίνομεν  
ἀπωλοφυράμην  
ἄπονον  
ἀποπειρώμενοι  
ἀποτελεσθῆ  
ἀποφοράν  
ἀρσάμενοι  
ἀργυροκοπέω, f.  
ἀριστίνδην  
ἀρπαγῆς (4)  
ἀρχιθέωρος  
ἀρχάνης  
βιαιότητος (4)  
βόρειον  
διαβουλεύσασθαι  
διαπεπλασμένος  
διτεχυρίζεσθαι  
ἐδίπλασε (4)  
ἐνδοδαμονιάς  
ἐστέρος  
δυσπραγία  
δυστυχήματι  
ἔδραν  
ἐκπορίζουσι  
ἐξεστρατευμένοι

ἐμπολεμῆν  
ἐξοπλιζόμενος, f.  
ἐξώρμει  
ἐξωστρακίσσατε (4)  
ἐπαναφορᾶς  
ἐπεισάγων (4)  
ἐπεγῆμει  
ἐπιδόξειε (4)  
ἐπεστράτευσε  
ἐπίτριπτον  
ἐστίαν  
εὐαδίκητος (4)  
εὐθαρσεῖν  
εὐαχεῖν, f.  
θηρεύειν  
καταπεπτωκυίας  
κατελεῖσθαι  
κίονος  
κλαυμάτων (4)  
κληδῶν  
κοινότης (4)  
κρατιστεύειν  
κυάμω  
κάνειον  
καπῆας  
λαθραῖον (4)  
ἐλήσω  
λογιστηρίοις  
λυροποιός  
λυχνωποιεῖν, f.  
μήνυσις  
μήνυττων  
μισοδημους (4)  
μισοδημία (4)  
μοιχείας (4)  
ναυκρατίαν, f.  
νότιον  
οἶκτος  
ὁμόθυφοι  
ὀρχήστραν  
ὥστρακισμένον  
ὥστρακισθῆναι (4)  
παρακινδυνεύω  
περικαίονται  
πιστότης  
προκηρυκευόμενον  
πρόριζον  
προσπηδῶ  
προσεπράξατο (4)  
πρόταξις  
προτάξαντες  
πρῶ  
πῶλιν  
σάλληγι  
σελήνην  
σιταγωγοί  
κλινδικας, f.  
στασιωτείας (4)  
στεφανηφόρος  
ἐστεγμένους, f.  
συγκατέλυσας  
συγκατέσκαψας  
συμφιλονικάντων (4)  
συνεκτραφέις  
συννικῶντας  
συνωμότας (4)  
τειχήρεις  
τοσαυτάκις (4)  
ὑπεραυξανόμενος (4)  
ὑπουργήματων  
φάγοιμεν, f.  
φιλότητα  
φιλοχρήματος (4)  
χαλκήφ  
χρονισθέντες

It will be observed that among the words characteristic of the author of the speech *Against Alcibiades*, are the abstract terms βιαιότης, κοινότης and στασιωτεία, the poetic κλαύματα and λαθραῖος and the very rare adjective εὐαδίκητος. Thus the evidence derived from the vocabulary of this speech

may be added to the other reasons for regarding it as not written by Andocides.

In Forman's *Index to Lysurgus* it might have been well if the words found in the Oath in § 81 had been distinguished from the orator's own language. Among these words are δεκατέσω, εὐχοίσω, θαλλά, στοιχήσω, the second and fourth of which it may be safe to say would never have been used by Lysurgus himself. Similarly δαμόνων, ἐσθλόν, νοῦν, τρέπει, φρενῶν might have been marked as coming from a poetic quotation, especially as the second and the last of these words are hardly ever found in prose, although φρενῶν is found once in Andocides and φρένας only in the peroration of the Speech *On the Crown*. δοκιμασίαν may be added to δοκιμασίαι from frag. 24, ἑκατόμπεδον from frag. 58, θαλλόν and θαλλοῦ from frag. 88 and 58, χιλιθénta comes from frag. 11 and κεχλιώσθαι from frag. 55, and ᾠδεῖον from frag. 58. ισχνῶς (§ 80) will probably have to give way in future editions to Haupt's emendation ἴχνος, also λιποταξίον (§ 147) to λιποταξίον, and ὀρίοις (§ 109) to ἡρίοις, and συγγενεῖς (§ 122) to εὐγενεῖς. All these corrections are adopted in the recent edition by Blass (1899). To these I may add γονέων as a correction of the poetic word τοκέων in § 147. I have made the same suggestion in [Dem.] 35 § 48; in both passages it may be supported by κάκωσις γονέων in Aristotle's *Const. of Athens*, 56 § 6 and οἱ περὶ τῶν γονέων νόμοι in Dem. 39 § 33.

In Forman's *Indices* the articles on ἀλλά, ἄν, ἅπας and πᾶς, γάρ, εἰ, ἐπειδή and ὥς are not a mere string of references, but include a proper classification of the various uses of the words. Thus a distinction is drawn between the passages in which ἅπας or πᾶς precedes the noun and article, and those in

which it succeeds them. The articles on νόμος and ψήφισμα in the *Index to Lysurgus* would have been more instructive if, instead of a bald list of references, they had similarly been classified under *leges Dracontis*, *leges militares*, *leges frumentariae*, *populiscium de Phrynicho*, *de Hipparcho*, etc., as in the short *Index* to the text of Blass.

The *Index to Lysurgus* by Sergius Kondratiew (Moscow, 1897) is a very painstaking piece of work, but is less accurate than that of Forman. The order is not always strictly alphabetical, and the following items, included by Forman, are omitted. "Ἀγλαυρος, ἄδειαν, ἀράμενον, ἀνάξιον, ἀνοικος, ἀντεῖπον, εἰρεσιώνη, εἰσβάλλειν, ἐντεῖθεν, καταβληθέντων, κατέλευσαν (71 bis), Κοιρωνίδαι, ποιητέον, and σεμιδαλῖς. The misprints are as follows: ἄψιον for ἀξιον, διήλλαξαν for -εν, ἐλέησεν for ἤλ-, ἐμπεπορτεμένους for ἐμπεπορπημένους, ἐναγγελιζόμενος for εὐ-, ἐπιτελώματα for ἐπιτελέωματα, ἐπετρεπώσαμεν for ἐπετρεπύσαμεν, εὐμολπον for Εὐ-, κατέλευσαν for -έλευσαν, λογοποιεῖν for λωποδυνεῖν, μετακοντίζεσθαι for μετακομίζεσθαι, ὥχετε for ὥχετο, παρῆναι for παρίσθαι (s.v. παρήμι), προκτησασθαι for προσ-, προσέδωκα for προσέδοκα, σκέψω for σκήψω, σύμβουλον for σύμβολον, Τιμοχάρης for Τιμοχάρης, Φιλόμελος for Φιλόμυλος, and Χαίρωνείας for Χαίρωνεία. Lastly under ὑπέρ (gen.) we have a reference to § 39, where ὑπέρ is really found with the accusative. Both in accuracy and in beauty of typography the printers at Moscow are far excelled by those of the Clarendon Press. The light grey binding of Forman's *Index* adds much to the attractiveness of an excellent piece of work.

J. E. SANDYS.

## TWO RECENT TEXTS OF ARISTOTLE'S *RESPUBLICA*.

- (1) *Aristotelis ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ* tertium ediderunt G. KAIBEL et U. DE WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORF. Berlin, Weidmann, 1898. pp. xvii. and 98. 1 M. 80 Pf.
- (2) *Aristotelis ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ* tertium edidit F. BLASS. Leipzig, Teubner, 1898. pp. xxxi. and 126. 1 M. 80 Pf.

In these two books we have the result of the matured experience gained by more than seven years' close study of the Consti-

tution of Athens, first published just nine years since. Comparing the works together we find that they approach one another more nearly than the second editions by the respective editors; *ut laeti agnoscere possimus*, says Blass, *legendi restituendique progressus magnos non opinione sed re ipsa factos* (p. xxi.). In no small degree this gain is due to the careful examination of the original in the British Museum by Prof. Wilcken, whose merit in particular is recognised in the improved form in which

the fragments of the fourth papyrus roll are to be found in both editions. But in the other parts of the work the palaeographical skill of the first editor has left comparatively little for the gleaner in his field. It is to be observed moreover that the new readings of Prof. Wilcken do not always meet with the approbation of Dr. Kenyon and Prof. Blass: e.g. ch. v. § 2, and other passages which Blass discusses at length, pp. xxi. sqq. of his Introduction.

Professors Kaibel and Wilamowitz, for whose third edition the new collation was made, usually follow it closely: they still read however *φιλαργυρίαν* at ch. v. § 3 where Wilcken now sees *ΦC...ΕΙΑΝ*. What this can indicate it is hard to determine. Blass finds *Φ...ΙΑΝ* with *Υ* or more probably *Τ* before *Ι*. His conjecture (*τὴν τε φιλοπλουρίαν*, based on this, is, owing to the synzesis at the break in a pentameter, extremely harsh: for the present *φιλαργυρίαν* ought to be retained, *faute de mieux*. To take now the two editions separately, that of Kaibel and Wilamowitz has a useful preface with a short account of the MS., wherein the view of Dr. Kenyon, that it was written by four separate hands, is acknowledged to be true, and the editors' former proposal to identify hands (1) and (4) and hands (2) and (3) therefore abandoned: cf. Sandys p. xxxv. note 2. But they still hold that all the corrections are due to the owner of the MS. who also wrote the contents of the first roll; Blass on the other side maintains as before, (pp. vii. to xi.), that there are several correctors, the four scribes correcting each his own mistakes and one or more the mistakes of the rest. In this connexion it is perhaps too much to say with K.-W. of *AA.*, written at ch. 49 § 1 above *ἀνάγουσι*, 'quid esse uoluerit minime apparet.' It must point to the reading *ἀλλ' ἀνάγουσι* (of fractious horses): *ἀναγωγός* surely is sufficient evidence for this sense of *ἀνάγειν*.

The attitude of Kaibel and his colleague in regard to textual emendation is somewhat different now: 'tulit res ut cum libellum Aristotelem primum ederemus, nouam rem calidius adgressi maiora saepius ac fortiora moliremur, sed deferbuit animus' (p. xvi.). Also, they are no longer jointly responsible for all suggestions printed in the text. Turning to this, I shall only remark that the reading *πρὶν ἢ παράξας κτλ.* in Solon at ch. xii. § 5, (also in second edition), is not so good on any ground as *πρὶν ἀντράξας (ἀναι.)*, and that the omission of

*καὶ* before *γυνῆκα* at ch. xiii. § 4 is quite unnecessary. At ch. xvi. § 6 *παντελῶς πέτρας σκάπτοντα* is such strange Greek that one is tempted to think that the words *πρεσβύτην ὄντα* have fallen out after *παντελῶς*; cf. Zenobius *Proverb. cent. iv. 76* quoted in Sandys' note.

There remains an unpleasant task for an English reviewer of this book to discharge. The editors declare in explicit terms (p. xv.) that they have assigned to its respective authors everything that did not belong to themselves. I have no desire to cry *J'accuse*: but my conviction is that the service rendered by English scholars to the text of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* would never be gathered from the scanty acknowledgements in the *apparatus criticus*. Most certainly had the *Classical Review* of the months March, April, May of 1891 been used as they could easily have been even for the first edition (August, 1891) and as they most decidedly should have been used for the present one, we *diesseit des Kanals* would have no reason to fear comparisons. Some of the corrections the editors would make for themselves: they have acknowledged a few which could hardly escape them: why do they withhold that acknowledgment in similar or more difficult cases? An example will show. At ch. xxxv. § 3 the MS. reads *ἐχαίρον ἢ πόλις* where K.-W. read *ἐχαίρον* and the *app. cr.* has *corr.* Sidgwick *et* Rutherford: yet at ch. xxi. § 1, the MS. giving *ἐπίστευον ὁ δῆμος* with *.Ο.* over—*en*, the omission of *ὁ δῆμος* with the reading *ἐπίστευον* is not said to be due to Rutherford and Bury. At ch. xiii. § 1 the MS. has (not *ΑΙΤΙΑΝΑΡΧΙΑΝ* as K.-W. represent but) *ΑΙΤΙΑΝΑΡΧΑΙΑΝ*. Is it not less obvious to correct here with Campbell etc. to *αἰρίαν ἀναρχίαν* (διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰ. ἀν. ἐποίῃσαν) than, as in the previous instances, to adjust singulars and plurals? Perhaps more striking still are the cases where K.-W. have altered their views as set forth in their first edition without stating their obligations. Even their *δεύτεραι φροντίδες* as it seems are to count as earlier than the first thoughts of other scholars; see for example ch. 9 § 2 (K.-W p. 9 line 6) and ch. 19 § 2 (K.-W p. 20 line 8), where the names of Papageorgius and Bernardakis are omitted. Better no names at all in the *apparatus criticus* than such a partial representation of scholars both here and abroad.

Very different is the edition of Prof. Blass in this respect: 'porro plurima contribuerunt

critici Britannici, quae magnam partem collecta exstant in diario *Classical Review*' (p. xxix). See also his *apparatus* where before the edition in which any given reading was first published is placed a statement of the critics, if any, who had proposed it already in the Classical Journals.

The Preface in Blass is more polemical perhaps than before, being directed in part, as stated above, against Wilcken. On rhythm Prof. Blass does not change his views: as regards ch. 55 § 4, cf. Sandys, p. lxxvii.

At ch. xiv § 4 the transposition γυναικα καὶ μεγάλην κτλ for καὶ γ. μ. (cf. above) is

not needed and the combination of height and beauty hardly wanted reinforcing to a Greek reader. Ar. Rhet. A 5 § 7, p. 1361. The solution of the 'lis de Dracontis (*sic*) quae uidebatur constitutione' on pp. xxii sq. is shewn to depend on the proper translation of a pluperfect.

More need not be said of the merits of this model edition of the Aristotelian text. Of inaccuracies I have only observed τὸ δ' ἀρχαῖον in text at ch. viii § 2, yet the lemma has γὰρ for δι: remove too the comma after εἴλετο p. 21 line 3.

J. A. NAIRN.

#### JOHN'S *DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS*.

*P. Cornelius Tacitus, Dialogus de Oratoribus*, erklärt von Dr. CONSTANTIN JOHN: Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung 1899. Pp. vii. + 164. Price 2 Mark 10 Pf.

THIS book comes at the end of a long series of editions of the *Dialogus*; and it is, if not the most pretentious and elaborate, certainly not the least useful of them all. It embodies, as the editor states, the results of a long connexion with the criticism of the treatise; and no one who is familiar with the commentary which Dr. John incorporated with his translation (1886-1892) will wonder that he should now have undertaken to produce an edition of the text itself. In Germany, the present work will in all probability supersede the well-known editions of Peter (1877), Wolff (1890), and Andresen (3rd ed. 1891). Dr. John acknowledges his obligations to these and to some others among his predecessors; but it is significant of his conservative attitude—especially in view of the multiplication of editions within the last ten years<sup>1</sup>—that he goes back for the basis of his text to Halm's last revision (1884) in the Teubner series.

The Introduction (pp. 1-61), which deals with everything except the Manuscripts, divides itself into three main chapters,—I. The Question of Authorship; II. Structure, *dramatis personae*, and Aim; and III. Literary Sources. The first section of ch. I. contains nothing new; it is merely a re-statement of the evidence (pp. 2-9)

which has rendered it possible to fix approximately the date of the composition. The second section (pp. 9-36) is a very compact and serviceable compilation. In it the editor addresses himself to the style of the treatise, and seeks to show—without ignoring the recent views of Leo and Norden—how the progress of Tacitean criticism has entirely changed the situation, so that what was at first a stumbling-block has now come, on the theory of a 'genetic development,' to be regarded as the surest proof of genuineness. In the smallest possible compass, Dr. John sets forth the linguistic affinity which subsists between the *Dialogus* and the historical works of Tacitus in regard to phraseology, use of words, syntax, figures of speech etc., while specially emphasising the points of resemblance between the earlier style, as seen in the *Dialogus*, and that of his first historical treatises. The Second Chapter, dealing with the scheme and substance of the work, covers pp. 37-50, and contains matter which will be dealt with immediately below. For Chapter Third, on the models and sources, the editor expresses his great obligations to Hirzel and Gudeman.

For special treatment, the passage (pp. 39-42) may be singled out in which John goes over to the view of those (Heuman, Becker, Andresen, Habbe, and Gudeman) who postulate a second lacuna after the first sentence of ch. 40. The question thus raised may be made to serve as a useful exercise in literary criticism. What is certain is that there is already one lacuna at the end of ch. 35, where some part—probably a small one—of Messalla's speech

<sup>1</sup> See an article entitled 'La critica del "dialogo degli oratori" nell' ultimo decennio,' by L. Valmaggli, in the *Rivista di Filologia* for April, 1899.

is lost, and that the speaker of at least the concluding chapter is Maternus. His last utterance was evidently intended to round off the treatise in the key-note of his first debate with Aper (chs. 11—13). In the part which is conceded to him by all critics alike (40, 8—41) he says that forensic oratory is the product of lawlessness and laxity, a deprivation of the *eloquentia* of the golden age. Just as in the earlier debate he sought to prove the superiority of poetry as less restrained and more ideal, so in his concluding words Maternus refers to existing political conditions as having deprived oratory of its appropriate sphere and rendered superfluous the profession from which he had himself determined to turn aside in favour of poetry.

Why then should so many critics agree, by arbitrarily introducing a lacuna of which no MS. evidence exists, to break up a speech which would naturally have been taken as forming one continuous whole (chs. 36—41)? The reason alleged by all is that there are inconsistencies and repetitions in the passage extending from ch. 36 to ch. 40, 7 which make it impossible that it can belong to Maternus. Some argue also that room must be found for Secundus.

It must first be pointed out that, even on their own showing, the place of the supposed lacuna is very infelicitously chosen. The alleged want of sequence between the first two sentences of ch. 40 will not be apparent to ordinary readers. And if it is a question of repetition, the first sentence must be adjudged, equally with the rest, not to belong to Maternus: 'contiones assidue et datum ius potentissimum quemque vexandi atque ipsa inimicitiarum gloria' (40, 1) can no more be allowed to stand in the speech which begins at ch. 36 than the other undoubted parallelisms which occur immediately afterwards. For have we not already had, in so many words, 36, 10—13<sup>1</sup> 'hinc contiones magistratum paene pernoctantium in rostris, hinc accusationes potentium reorum et adsignatae etiam domibus inimicitiae'? As a matter of fact, so far from a lacuna being rightly postulated at 40, 7 what follows in that chapter is an emphasized continuation of what precedes. The speaker has already made much of the point that though the conditions which previously existed produced great orators they were not in themselves desirable; and now in the sentence beginning *Non de otiosa*

40, 8, he proceeds, by way of anticipating what he sets forth as the conclusion of the whole matter (end of ch. 41) to emphasise the view that the acme of eloquence is invariably coincident with a time of civil and political disorder. Thus the reference to excessive freedom of speech and license of personal invective contained in 'ad incessandos principes viros' 40, 4 is immediately taken up and developed in 'effrenati populi incitamentum, sine obsequio..... in bene constitutis civitatibus non oritur,' 40, 10—14.

But why, even if this particular place is unfortunately chosen, should a second lacuna be postulated anywhere at all? As the treatment of this point is generally evaded by reviewers, a somewhat extended statement of it may here be in place. It is undoubted that there are repetitions in the speech contained in ch. 36—41, if we take it as a whole. The author is conscious of this himself: otherwise why would he, in enforcing his point that great eloquence is an inevitable accompaniment of disorder, have used such a phrase as 'ut subinde admoneo,' in a passage (37, 31) which is repeated and emphasised in 40 *ad fin.*? It might almost seem as if he had sought to anticipate latter-day criticism. Similarly the critics urge that the speaker of 36, 3 ('eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate, etc'), cannot have repeated himself in 40, 19 ('nostra quoque civitas, etc.'). But on the supposition that the speaker is Maternus throughout, the explanation is easy. In the lacuna before the beginning of ch. 36, he had been discussing Greek oratory, and he goes on in the extant part of his speech, to say that at Rome, too, like conditions (*i.e.*, unrest and disorder) produced a like result. He wishes to emphasise the scope of republican oratory, but—being Maternus—he does not fail to throw in at the outset an anticipation of his final judgment in the words 'Nam etsi horum quoque temporum oratores ea consecuti sunt quae composita et quieta et beata republica tribui fas erat,' 40, 5—6. In 40, 19, on the other hand ('nostra quoque civitas donec erravit . . . tulit sine dubio valentiorum eloquentiam') he is summing up and nearing his general conclusion, *viz.*, that the acme of eloquence is not worth the cost of civil unrest. If we are to make repetition the standard here, it would be fully as reasonable to hold that, within the limits of the speech which all critics agree in assigning to one speaker (36—40, 7), the passage at 37, 19, beginning 'quae mala sicut non accidere melius est'

<sup>1</sup> The references are to Halm's text (Teubner, 1889).



must be excised as a vain repetition of what we have already quoted from 36, 4.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly there is no reason why 'erranti populo' 36, 9, and 'donec erravit, 40, 20, should not belong to the same speaker. In the former passage (as in 'ea consecuti sunt,' quoted in the note) Maternus is pronouncing an anticipatory and incidental judgment, which is repeated and enforced when in ch. 40, he passes from a consideration of the fact (*viz.*, that eloquence is a concomitant of disorder), to his final summing up (*viz.*, that great eloquence may cost a country too dear). This view will account also for such repetitions as 36, 7, 'illa perturbatione ac licentia . . . mixtis omnibus et moderatore uno carentibus,' and 40, 9, 'alumna licentiae,' 41, 12, 'minor oratorum honor obscuriorque gloria est inter bonos mores et in obsequium regentis paratos,' 41, 17, 'sapientissimus et unus.' Compare also 36, 28, 'cum parum esset in senatu breviter censere' with 41, 14, 'longis in senatu sententiis . . . multis apud populum contionibus'; 36, 15, 'exercebant tamen illorum temporum eloquentiam,' 38, 2, 'eloquentiam tamen illud forum magis exercebat,' and 40, 23, 'tulit sine dubio valentiorum eloquentiam;' also 36, 21, 'clientelis . . . provincias,' with 41, 4, 'clientelam . . . provinciam.'

In his effort to differentiate between the speaker of 36-40, 7, and the speaker of 40, 8-41, Dr. John is driven to emphasise even such minor points as 'facilius . . . existit' 37, 32, as compared with 'non oritur' 40, 12. But his main argument is that the first speaker is an orator who dwells sympathetically on the freedom of olden times (36 and 38), and is irritated over the degradation, partly self-caused, of modern rhetoric, and the unfruitfulness of any honest effort to raise it (39): whereas the speaker of the two concluding chapters is a poet who censures oratory as 'alumna licentiae' (40, 9), and as, like medicine, a necessary evil, (41, 9), and who is evidently of opinion that the existing limitations to the full scope of rhetoric are to be considered as inevitable and even desirable results of a monarchical constitution (41, 13, *sqq.*). The one, according to John, is the attitude of regret, the other of acquiescence. But it has already been shown that the

attitude of acquiescence is foreshadowed in the words which occur at the very beginning of the speech as we now have it: 'horum quoque temporum oratores ea consecuti sunt quae composita et quieta et beata republica tribui fas erat.' And it may be doubted whether any of the speakers, save the poet-pleader Maternus, could have risen to the height of the well-known sentence with which ch. 36 begins: 'Magna eloquentia, sicut flamma, materia alitur et motibus excitatur, et urendo clarescit.'<sup>2</sup> It is sufficient further to quote alongside of each other two substantially identical passages from different parts of the speech to show the impossibility of such a differentiation. These are 37, 29, 'non quia fuerit republicae malos ferre cives ut uberem ad dicendum materiam oratores haberent,' and 40, 25, 'sed nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit ut pateretur et leges, nec bene famam eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit.'

It has been stated that the critics whose theories are under discussion cannot agree as to the speaker to whom they would attribute chs. 36-40, 7. Messalla is rightly set aside by Dr. John: if he had made so long a speech as this arrangement would assign to him, in spite of the fact that he has already finished, at the end of ch. 32, the subject with which he originally undertook to deal (16, 5), he would surely not have rejoined to Maternus, in the closing chapter, 'erant quibus contradicerem, erant de quibus plura dici vellem.' And Messalla is too much of the 'laudator temporis acti' to have been the speaker of 36-40, 7 where, as we have seen, the compensating advantages of a healthier political condition are admitted.

Dr. John's own view is that the first speaker is Secundus. The great resemblance between the two parts he explains by putting forward Secundus as a careful and cautious mediator whose sympathy with Maternus enables him to lead up to the latter's final utterance of conciliation. Secundus is a warm admirer of antiquity in literature and oratory, but he has no quarrel with the existing constitution, and is thus very near in tone to Maternus himself.

In support of this opinion it is urged that otherwise Secundus will make no figure in the treatise as we have it now, and that a speech from him is virtually promised, by

<sup>2</sup> The personality of Maternus may again, it seems to me, be detected in the phrase 'cum in plerisque iudiciis crederet populus Romanus sua interesse quid iudicaretur,' 39, 19.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. these passages in detail: 36, 4, 'Nam etsi horum quoque temporum oratores ea consecuti sunt quae composita et quieta et beata re publica tribui fas erat, tamen illa perturbatione ac licentia plura sibi adsequi videbantur, &c. 37, 19, 'Quae mala sicut non accidere melius est isque optimus civitatis status habendus est in quo nihil tale patimur, ita cum acciderent ingentem eloquentiae materiam subministrabant.'

Maternus, in 16, 8. But the passage referred to contains no definite undertaking by Secundus himself, though it is, of course, quite possible that some remarks of his have been lost in the undoubted lacuna which follows ch. 35. More conclusive against Secundus is the fact that his name is not mentioned in the closing chapter. If a speech from him had preceded the concluding utterance of Maternus, it would hardly have been ignored both by Messalla and by Maternus,—especially the latter, who says 'si qua tibi obscura in hoc meo sermone visa sunt' (42, 4).

In a critical appendix extending over barely four pages, John is able to set forth all that he considers necessary to justify the readings which he has embodied in his text. It has been said that his text is distinctly conservative: it is one of the ironies of philological criticism that an edition appearing at the end of a long series should have been so confidently based on the principle of a return to the tradition of the MSS. The following passages may be noted under this head: 5, 11 *et ego enim* with all codd., instead of *ego enim*, edd. following Pithou: *ib.* 24 *ferat* for *feras*: *ib.* 32 *qui accinctus* for *qua accinctus*: 6, 27 *quamquam alia diu* (rejecting all emendations): 10, 18 *ceteris aliarum* (rightly, in all probability): *ib.* 20 *natura tua* (omitting Halm's *te*): 14, 14 *et sermo ipse*: 17, 19 *Britanniae*: 18, 18 *pro...magis*: *ib.* 20 *parum antiquus* for *parum Atticus* Ursinus and edd.: 21, 5 *probant*: *ib.* 23 *olentia*: 25, 28 *solitos et invidere et*: 36, 29 *nisi qui* (for *nisi quis* Lipsius and edd.): 37, 29 *fuit* for *fuerit* Nissen and edd.: *ib.* 33 *existit* for *existit* Lipsius and edd.

Approval can be given to the following readings: 11, 9, where *in Nerone* is bracketed as a gloss: 13, 3, *ad praeturas et consulatus* (after Vahlen): 13, 24, the acceptance of Heller's suggestion that the words *Quandoque enim*, etc., are a verse-quotation: 19, 3 *equidem Cassium*: 32, 2 *primum enim*: 33, 20, *[eloquentiae]*: 37, 19, *de expilatis*.

But the following seem to be open to criticism:—2, 16, *maiores quam*: 3, 21, *et Domitium* (a conjecture of the editor's own, which seems to be no improvement on the traditional *ut Domitium*): 7, 10 *in alvo*: 10, 4 *[rarissimarum]*: 13, 14, *non praestant*, and *ib.* 15, *adligati tamen*: 13, 21, *palantem*: 17, 27, *Asinius...Corvinus* (with most edd.): 21, 6, *una aut altera*: *ib.* 11, *et verbis*: 22, 13, *ut nunc oportet* (after Vahlen): 25, 9, *quominus fatear*: *ib.* 13, *omnium tamen*: 27, 1, *Ah parce*: 32, 16, *ius civitatis*: 36, 26,

*sibi illi persuaserant*: 38, 5 *dicendo*: 39, 13, *importunus* (Weissenborn).

In conclusion, a word or two may be added by way of comment on the following places:—

1, 15 19, 'cum singuli diversas... causas adferrent... neque enim defuit qui diversam quoque partem, etc.' John's explanation of this very difficult passage avoids the mistake of taking 'diversas' as = 'various.' On the other hand, he does not make it sufficiently clear that 'diversas causas,' so far from requiring the following 'neque enim defuit' clause to interpret it, must refer back to the opening sentence—'cur cum priora saecula, etc.' And no notice is taken of the alternative explanation that Aper is not included in 'singuli,' as not admitting any decline of oratory: this view might be shown to derive some support from ch. 16, where Aper is again put in a category by himself.

2, 16 'quam' after 'maiores' ought to be unhesitatingly rejected. Aper's detractors thought he owed more to 'ingenium' than to 'doctrina'; the fact was that, while really learned, he affected to disparage learning because he thought that people would give him more credit for painstaking application if he seemed to make light of literary culture. At the same time it is possible that 'industriæ et laboris' before 'gloriam' may not belong to the original text.

3, 23, 'importasses et... aggregares.' The conjecture 'et' seems here to produce an inconcinnity: the impf. subj. could not have been used (co-ordinately with 'importasses') of works from which Maternus has now passed—going on to his 'Thyestes.' Perhaps after all 'aggregare' may be the true reading, forming an appositive infinitival clause: cp. Cic. Brut., § 74, 'ad id quod instituisti, oratorum genere distinguere aetatibus, ... adcommodatam.'

5, 12. A new conjecture is introduced here, *non licuit non patiar*, the pass. inf. *inveniri* being allowed to stand. It is difficult to follow the reasoning of those who take it as axiomatic that the *quatenus* clause must have contained a negative idea, and that Secundus has formally declined to act as arbiter.

6, 27. John's conservative tendencies are well illustrated by his retention of the MS. reading *quamquam alia diu serantur*. In such passages, however, *alia* sometimes points to a various reading, and may have come in from the margin: and the conjecture *quamquam grata quae diu serantur* would have been worth mentioning.

7, 10. *si non in alvo oritur*. It is depressing to see such a reading revived in what might have been a more or less final edition of the text of the Dialogue. It is certainly not helped out by the quotation from Cic. *Cluent.*, § 34. If the traditional *in animo* cannot stand, I should prefer *ultra*.

38, *ad fin.* That *maxima* (not *maxime*) *principis disciplina* is the true reading here,

is rightly insisted on in the interests of 'concinnity.' The use of *disciplina*, of the administrative faculty of the emperor, ought, however, to have been illustrated: *disciplinae Augusti* occurs, for instance, on altar-inscriptions under the Empire.

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#### GUDEMAN'S *DIALOGUS*.

TACITUS, *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, with Introduction and Notes, by ALFRED GUDEMAN, Professor of Classical Philology in the University of Pennsylvania, Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1898. Pp. xxxiii. + 168.

THIS useful epitome of Dr. Gudeman's larger edition (1894) will do much to popularise the study of the Dialogue among English-speaking students. The compact and serviceable Introduction contains a statement of the various problems which confront the reader,—the grounds on which the editor adheres to the *lacuna* theory, dealt with in the preceding notice, being succinctly stated in the notes to pp. xxiv.—v. The rest of the volume consists of one quarter text and three quarters commentary.

As the main features of Dr. Gudeman's monumental work have been already discussed in the *C.R.* (August 1895) it may suffice to append here a few notes on special points. And first as to the constitution of the text. The editor declines (p. 166) to accept the results of the fresh investigation which has induced T. Avé-Lallemant (not Lallement) to give in his adherence to the eclectic procedure in deciding between the two families X and Y: here he comes into collision with John, who states in his preface that he cannot accept the arguments which would give an unqualified preference to one as against the other. On the other hand some recognition is now accorded (p. viii.) to the *Harleianus*, in spite of the treatment meted out to it in the larger work (p. cxxi, note). Obvious improvements in the text (duly noted in a critical appendix) are 2, 17 *maiorem* for *maiozem* *quam* of the larger edition: 4, 22 *colam* for *colam solam*: 5, 22 *praesidium* for *quae est praesidium*: 7, 10 *in animo* for *in alvo*: 10,

18 *adepturus* for *adeptus*: 16, 23 *utrique* for *huic utrique*: 20, 2 *ferè* for *omnia ferè*: 20, 24 *invitatus* for *vitiatus*: 36, 22 *clarescit* for *calescit* (a conjecture which is now properly described as 'not absolutely necessary'): 36, 18 *quin* for *qui quin*. These changes are evidences of the care with which Dr. Gudeman has revised his former work, and also of his readiness to take account of the views of others. In 10, 28, however, he has been induced to reject the MS. reading *offendere* in favour of the unnecessary conjecture *offensae*: while readings which appear to be inferior are still retained in 11, 9 *in Neronem improbam*: 17, 18 *voletis* for *soletis*: 18, 22 *miratus* for *imitatus*: 25, 9 *si cominus fatetur*: 25, 28 *livore*: 29, 18 [*et sui alienique contemptus*]: 38, 29 *maxime* for *maxima*. Changes for the better, made in the text but not recorded with the care one would have expected in the critical appendix, are *venire plerumque* 6, 9 for *plerumque venire* of the larger edition: *ac mihi* 16, 28 for *et mihi*: *illa* 19, 22 for *ista* (and so again 20, 20 and 23, 4): *sic apud* 25, 22 for *sic et apud*: *oratores eiusdem aetatis* 22, 29 for *eiusdem aetatis oratores*,—a silent alteration which might have been worth recording, as the reading now rejected is one of those on which Dr. Gudeman relied for proving the superiority of Y over X. Misprints are rarely met with, but *utilitatum* may be noted p. 29, l. 2: *serviant* at foot of p. 70: *composi* at p. 148.

The commentary leaves very little to be desired, and it is no disparagement to its general excellence to point out that in 5, 20 *utilitatem* should go with *vitas*: that in 7, 3 *favorabili* is not so much 'favoured,' as 'recommending to favour' or 'influential': that the parallel passages quoted at 11, 9 in support of the impossible reading *in Neronem improbam* . . . *potentiam* are really irrele-

vant: that *quandoque . . . veniet* 13, 24 is now rightly accepted by other editors as a verse-quotation: and that 'we do not read of the delivery' is a very doubtful rendering of *ut neque . . . dictus legatur* in 38, 15.

A word of praise should be added for the way in which the publishers have done their

work: the book forms an admirable addition to the attractive series of Latin authors which is being issued by Messrs. Allyn and Bacon.

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### BOTSFORD'S HISTORY OF GREECE.

*A History of Greece.* By G. W. BOTSFORD, Ph.D., Instructor in the History of Greece and Rome in Harvard University. The Macmillan Company. 1899. Pp. 396. 6s. 6d.

THE history of Greece is a subject on which we want as many good books as possible, short as well as long, and Dr. Botsford has produced a valuable addition to the rather small stock of short histories in English. It does not supersede Oman's useful work, but supplements it. In the first place Dr. Botsford tells us that Oman's account of the Epic Age is antiquated, and in this matter and others he himself gives the more modern views and discoveries. "By the name 'Homer,'" he says, "we mean any one of the minstrels who helped to make either the Iliad or the Odyssey." The new material supplied by the *Ἀθ. πολιτεία* is utilised. (But the favourable view of the great Trimmer, Theramenes, is not adopted.) Aristides is a thorough democrat. Lykourgos is a god. And Tyrtaios has ceased to be a lame schoolmaster and an Athenian, though not transported into the fifth century, where Dr. Verrall would have him. But more important than any differences of detail is the difference from Oman's history in plan and aim. The new book is an outline, intended as an introduction to wider reading, and regarded in this light, it appears admirably adapted to rouse intelligent interest and also to supply a framework of knowledge. Details of campaigns, ins and outs of "interstate" politics, are designedly omitted. But the general march of events, the main directions of movement, are presented in a rational and interesting form; the most important points are as a rule marked with excellent precision; and an impression of the spacious spirit of the Greeks is conveyed within small compass. The progress and changes of philosophy, art, literature, and their close connection

with political change and progress, are outlined with especial care and skill. The individual figures of statesmen, generals, orators, to whom brief paragraphs are devoted, stand out really individual, and their several contributions to history or art are clearly indicated. The value of the work is enhanced by the illustrations, a large proportion of which are admirable. Kresilas' bust of Perikles, the metope from the Parthenon, the Euripides, and the view of Sparta may be mentioned as a few among many.

At the end of each chapter is a list of authorities ancient and modern, and at the end of the book a list of "studies," in which it is assumed that the student will work with Thucydides, Grote, Holm, Plutarch, about him. Thus we see that if we find but a meagre outline of the great tragedy of the Sicilian Expedition, it is because we are intended to read the tragedy itself in Thucydides. Again, Dr. Botsford makes large, sometimes perhaps excessive, allowance for the prejudices of writers belonging to the "better class." Not only is Kleon represented as a highly respectable person, with "a remarkable talent for finance," but "there is no reason for doubting that" Hyperbolos "was a man of integrity and fair ability." But we must remember that this is to be diluted with large draughts of Thucydides and Aristophanes.

Once or twice we feel as if Dr. Botsford were writing about members of the Anglo-American race who had somehow become possessed of eccentric superstitions, as when Zaleukos is said to have "pretended to receive laws from Athena in dreams" (p. 32) or we are told that the "especial fault" of Pythagoras "was attaching to numbers a mystical power unknown to true science" (p. 95). But as a rule persons or states are not blamed for not being quite other than they were, but are discussed from the point of view of principles and aims possible



to them. It is even admitted that the Spartans were probably sincere in that scruple concerning the phases of the moon which kept them from Marathon.

The student of Dr. Botsford's history will not be troubled much with tribal names and migrations, and the Pelasgians are mentioned only once in a note. On the other hand he will learn how Thebes, Athens and Sparta owed their position as foremost powers to their success in welding comparatively large territories into single states. Especially the union of Attika and the union of Lakonia, and the difference between the two, are clearly characterised; "in the former the country had as many rights as the city, and was in fact taken into the city organisation; in the latter the country remained subject to the city" (p. 29). The account of the development of the Athenian constitution is particularly good. We observe that the Council of the Areopagites is regarded as the old council of kingly times; the Ephetai are apparently instituted by Drakon; the extension of the franchise to the heavy-armed is put before Drakon, as also the Council of 401, changed by Solon to a Council of 400.

The Dorian Migration is entirely rejected. The Dorians are said to have been in the Peloponnese "from the earliest times" (p. 28). But apart from tradition and from vexed questions of Mykenian civilisation, this leaves unexplained the existence of Doris and the close connexion of Sparta with the northward-looking Delphic Amphiktyony. The position of the Arcadians, too, relatively to Argos, Sparta and Messene is strongly suggestive of an earlier population thrust back into the mountains.

Occasionally Dr. Botsford seems to represent as suddenly created an institution which we know to belong to wide tracts of time and space. For instance, when he says that "Nausithoüs grouped kindred families into a brotherhood (phratry); several of these brotherhoods into a tribe . . ." (p. 21). The idea formed by the student will probably be that these groups were an arrangement brought in by Nausithoüs and other founders of cities. This doubtless is not what the author means; but the natural tendency is to regard such phenomena as isolated and sudden if the opposite view is not emphasised, and though artificial tribes and phratries may often have been formed, this is not so important as the existence of the ancient kinship groups, which were imitated in the artificial product. Again, it is said that about 280 B.C. "some

Achaean cities, too, began to form a league modelled apparently after that of Aetolia." Would it not be more correct to say that the ancient Achaean League was revived and remodelled? The old tendency to federation, seen especially in the more backward states, at last in this period came to its full birth. Connected with this tendency is the somewhat vague sense of unity, becoming a reality only in time of pressing danger, which appears in Thessaly recurrently, and appears also in the relation between Athens and Sparta in the period between 500 and 462 B.C. Dr. Botsford has recourse to the view that the Athenians entered the Peloponnesian League (p. 86 and elsewhere), though he grants them an exceptional position. But the other explanation seems better to fit the facts. The recognition by Athens of Sparta's leadership occurs only in connection with the Persian danger (first in 491, when the Aiginetans have given earth and water to Dareios) and the language addressed by Athens to Sparta points to nothing less than all Hellas as the ideal whole of which Sparta is considered the head, e.g., Herod., 6, 49: *κατηγόρειον Διγμηρέων τὰ πεποιήκοιεν προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα* and ch. 106.

The scholarly accuracy of the book is as remarkable as its liveliness. Of misprints and small mistakes I have detected none, except in the maps. "Helicon," in the map on p. 179, must, I think, have taken the place of "Hymettos." Anthely (p. 128), Cynassea (p. 236), Camarinia (p. 243), and a good many more names need correction. With regard to the spelling of Greek names in the text I cannot resist a protest. An occasional "K" and "ai" has found its way into the maps, otherwise the spelling is Latin, except in two points: "ei" is usually kept (but "Pisistratus"), and Gelon, Hieron, Theron are allowed their final "n" (the Athenian legislator, however, is "Draco"). Even "dikasterion" is disguised as "dicasterium" (p. 173), though "nomos" on the next page is not transformed into "nomus." No doubt almost any way of spelling Greek names is a compromise, and it must be so until we can write "Thoukydides" without being pedants (even then such words as "Korinth" and "Korinthian" may present difficulties) or till—but the other alternative is, I hope, impossible. By the present time, however, we have moved further than this on the path of advance. Dr. Botsford certainly does not get his Greek history through Latin. Why try to make it look as if he did? And he does not even avoid compromise, since



"Laureium" and "Hieron" are not Latin. "Laureium" is neither Greek nor Latin. The history is so good and so Greek that it

ought to be relieved of names that are Latin or not even Latin.

M. ALFORD.

P. RIBBECK'S *SENATORES ROMANI*.

*Senatores Romani qui fuerint Idibus Martiis* A.U.C. 710. By P. RIBBECK. Pp. 97. (Berlin, 1899). 2 m.

In his book entitled *Le Sénat de la République Romaine*, Willems reconstructed, so far as it was possible to do so, the lists of Roman senators for the years 179 B.C. and 55 B.C. The author of this 'dissertatio inauguralis' has, by continuing the investigations of Willems, performed a laborious and useful service. But where his work and that of Willems run parallel to one another, his information is less full, and his plan in some respects is less convenient. In the case, for instance, of the *consulares*, only the dates of quaestorship and consulship are usually given, though the former of the two dates is very often conjectural, and is inferred from the definitely recorded date of some higher office. As a result of this plan, the passages quoted from ancient authors in reference to the quaestorship have often only an indirect application to that magistracy, and it is necessary to verify the passages in order to ascertain whether their application is direct or indirect. The dissertation is somewhat disfigured by misprints; no uncommon thing in these 'dissertationes inaugurales,' whose authors have for the most part had little experience in correcting for the Press. More serious are the inaccuracies in the matter, not often important in themselves, but numerous enough to diminish the usefulness of the work. The senator who is No. 40 on the author's list is A. Manlius A. f. A. n. Torquatus, praetor in 52, well known as one of the interlocutors in Cicero's *De Finibus*. A reference is given

to No. 66 in Willems' list for the year 55; but the senator who figures there is the father of this Torquatus. Of No. 52 the author writes: 'M. Acilius [M. f.] Caninus, Caninis (*sic*) vel Caninianus appellatus Caes. b.c. III., 39, 1 in melioribus codicibus.' One would expect from this to find in the codices the name written as M. Acilius Caninius or Caninianus, whereas the *praenomen* and *nomen* are absent. In dealing with P. Cornelius P. f. Scipio Pomponianus Salvitto (No. 78) the author gives reasons for holding that the Scipio who adopted him was descended from the elder Africanus, rather than from his brother Asiagenus, as Mommsen supposed. Not one of the reasons is sound. (1) Plutarch Caes. 52 says this man was οἰκίας τῆς Ἀφρικάνων. The language is vague, which would hardly have been the case had Plutarch supposed him to be the representative, in the direct line, of the great Africani; nor would Dio and Suetonius have refrained from indicating his lineage, had they known of it. Plutarch might well speak of a descendant of the brother of Africanus the elder, as belonging to the family of the Africani. (2) It is urged that Plin. 38, 5 dedecore (so the author wishes to read, not *dedecori*) inrepentes Scipionum nomini, supports the view taken. But when the context of these words is examined, it is seen that the passage tells the other way, and loses its meaning if the adopted father of Salvitto was descended from Africanus. (3) The fact that Salvitto was consul in 38 seems to be regarded as bearing somehow on the point in dispute, which it cannot in reality affect.

J. S. R.

## THE NEW EDITION OF PAULY'S ENCYCLOPAEDIA.

*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, neue Bearbeitung, herausgegeben von G. Wissowa (Metzler, Stuttgart, 1899). Volume III, Part ii, 1567 columns (*Campanus ager* to *Claudius*), 15 Mk.

THIS is the sixth of the twenty half-volumes in which it is proposed to complete the new edition of 'Pauly.' It begins with a short article on *Campanus ager*, and closes with no less than 238 columns on *Claudius*, including articles on as many as 451 members of the Claudian gens, the foremost among them being the Decemvir of 450 B.C.; the Censor of 312 B.C.; Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse, and his name-sake the son-in-law of Augustus; and, in imperial times, Drusus and Britannicus, and the Emperors Claudius and Tacitus. Of these last two the former fills 61 columns, while 91 are elsewhere assigned to the 93 members of the gens *Cassia*, and 38 to the gens *Ceionia*, the latter including the Emperor L. Aurelius Verus. The main bulk of the present volume is concerned with Rome rather than with Greece. It is only among words beginning with CH that Greek names preponderate. This part of the volume includes articles on *Chrysippos*, on the *Charites* (17 columns), and *Chor* (29 columns), as well as full accounts of *Chios*, *Chalkis*, and *Chalkidike*, and the Tauric and Thracian *Chersonesus*. In the latter we find mention of the speech of Demosthenes on Halonnesus, whereas the extant speech bearing that name is now with practical unanimity assigned to Hegesippus, although Demosthenes is known to have taken part in the debate. In the same column (2249) the interposition of a comma has severed the white cliff of *Leuke Akte* into two parts. Under *Charmides* a single line might have been added mentioning the father of Pheidias, who bore that name. For many other Greek names, commonly entered under their Latin equivalents, we have to wait until we reach the letter K; and, while *Carthago nova* is here found, Carthage itself is reserved for *Karthago*, and for Catullus we shall have to wait for some years, until we arrive at his gentile name, *Valerius*.

Among the most interesting articles are those on *Casia*, *Ceder*, *Charta*, *Citrone*, and *Citrus*. Of the mythological articles the longest is that on *Ceres*, by the editor himself. There is also an important group on *Censor*, *Census*, *Centumviri*, and *Centuria*. Roman Law is well represented under *Causa*, *Cautio*, *Cedere actione*, *Cessio bonorum*, *Cessio in iure*, and in the article on the jurist of the second century A.D., *Cervidius Scaevola*. Although the work takes the whole range of 'classical antiquity' for its province, it is by no means limited to articles on classical subjects; it includes articles on the *Muratorian Canon* and the *Chronicon Paschale*, and on *Cancellarius* and *Canabae*, the latter being a word for 'huts' or 'barracks' hardly found except in late inscriptions. Among topographical articles are those on the recently excavated Roman station of *Carnuntum* on the Danube, a few miles below Vienna. That on *Cemenelum* oddly describes the modern Cimiez, the most conspicuous suburb of Nice, with its three vast hotels of even more than European reputation, as *ein unscheinbares Dorf*. Among articles concerned with Roman Britain may be mentioned those on *Caratacus*, *Carausius*, *Cassivelaunus*, and *Catuvellauni*. *Cantium Promontorium*, defined as the most easterly point of Britain, is strangely described as now bearing the name of *Cap Paperness*, whereas it is commonly called the 'North Foreland,' north of which are 'Foreness' and 'Whiteness,' while *Paperness* is unknown, and is probably a corruption of *Cap Foreness*.

The illustrations include a plan of the *Capitolium* and the *Circus Maximus*, and maps of the *Furculae Caudinae*, *Chalcis*, *Chaonia*, and the town of *Chios*. The articles on *Chiton* (25 columns), *Chlaina*, and *Chlamys* (7 each) would have been the better for a few illustrations. Indeed, throughout the work illustrations are very scantily supplied. In all other respects it is an admirable work of reference, which may be recommended with confidence as a practically indispensable part of every scholar's library.

J. E. SANDYS.

BLAYDES' *ADVERSARIA ON ARISTOPHANES*.

*Adversaria Critica in Aristophanem* scripsit  
F. H. M. BLAYDES. Halis Saxonum, 1899.  
Pp. 128. 3 Marks.

In this small volume of *Adversaria*—dedicated in affectionate terms to Mr. W. J. M. Starkie—Mr. Blaydes provides a supplement to his complete edition. Many of his former judgments are here revised and there is an abundance of new suggestions. The book contains also a selection of emendations proposed by foreign scholars (chiefly Herwerden and other Dutch critics) during the past few years. We could have wished that Mr. Blaydes had found it possible to give us an exhaustive record rather than a mere selection of such emendations. As the report on Aristophanes in *Bursian's Jahresbericht* is now some years overdue any summary that would lighten the labour of researching in foreign periodicals would be welcome.

Occasionally some of Mr. Blaydes' proposals are to be resisted: e.g. *Aves*. 121 *φράσας* *ἀν* for *φράσεως* where the passage is

clearly not paratragoedic; *Nub.* 442 *ἐξελοῦσιν* where the existence of the parallel phrase *ὀρχίπεδ' ἔλκειν* makes the vulgate *ἐξέλκουσιν* beyond all question.

None of the suggestions recorded on *Pax*. 536 *προβατίων βληχωμένων*, | *κόλπου γυναικῶν διατρεχουσῶν* seem convincing. Is it too bold to suggest *βολίτου* for *κόλπου*? The 'dung hill' seems well in keeping with a farmyard scene and the two words are hardly distinguishable in a handwriting such as that of the Venetus. In *Eccl.* 1037 N. *ποῖ τοῦτον ἔλκεις*; Γ. *τὸν ἐμαντῆς εἰσάγω* is the reading of all codd. *τὸν ἐμὸν αὐτῆς* (due to the suggestion of a friend) seems to me a neater correction and more probable than *εἰς ἐμαντῆς*—'It is my own lover that I am dragging off, not yours.' The construction is found in *Plutus* 33.

It is impossible to criticise a book such as this in detail. All who admire the editor's larger work will read his '*secundae curae*' with interest.

F. W. HALL.

*St. John's College, Oxford.*

CAPPELLI'S *DICTIONARY OF LATIN ABBREVIATIONS*.

*Dizionario di Abbreviature Latine ed Italiane* usate nelle carte e codici specialmente nel Medio Evo, per cura di ADRIANO CAPPELLI (Hoepli, Milan), 1899. Pp. lxii., 435. Lire 7.50.

THIS Dictionary of Abbreviations, we are told, has been compiled with the view of assisting in particular students of charters and MSS. written in Italy, as well as general students of palaeography. It is prefaced by a sketch of the system of contraction and abbreviation developed and followed in the Middle Ages: a useful introduction, although in some respects too much refined and with too much prominence given to exceptional varieties of forms. The dictionary is also supplemented with lists of special and technical abbreviations, some of them, however, somewhat superfluous in a handy book of a rather elementary character. The most useful is that of Epigraphical Abbreviations.

To turn to the main part of the volume, the Dictionary of Abbreviations itself; the compiler has more or less followed the

methods of two previous works, viz. the *Lexicon Diplomaticum* published by J. L. Walther as long ago as 1745, and that very useful little compilation, the *Dictionnaire des Abréviations* of L. A. Chassant. But in both those books there is a radical defect which Signor Cappelli has unfortunately repeated. Walther's system is to give the abbreviated word in a so-called facsimile reproduction from the original MS., accompanied with a solution in ordinary type of the actual letters expressed in the abbreviated word, a full extension of the word, and the date of the MS. Chassant is content with giving the abbreviated words in a uniform style, supposed to represent writing of the 13th century, with an extension in ordinary type. Signor Cappelli has here followed Walther's more elaborate method, and has expended enormous labour, to no useful purpose as we venture to think. For it seems to us to be an absolute misconception of the object in view to attempt to give facsimile reproductions in a work which professes not to teach palaeography but simply to

supply a key to the reading of abbreviations. The simpler the form of this key, the better for the mastery of the subject. The beginner requires above all to be instructed in the principles governing the system of contractions and abbreviations, and in the history of their development. Equipped with this knowledge, he will soon recognize the different forms, whatever may be the period of the MS. on which he is engaged at the moment. To present him with so-called facsimile examples (which in fact are no facsimiles in the true sense, being drawn as they are by hand), is only to worry him with a series of irritating puzzles. For the more advanced student such facsimiles are absolutely useless.

Undoubtedly the most practical method

to follow in such a compilation is that adopted by Mr. Trice Martin in his 'Record Interpreter,' in which ordinary type and the special fount of conventional signs used in printing the Public Records publications are employed. The beginner is not harassed by having first to puzzle out the letters of a facsimile, but has his mind entirely free to find the solution of the abbreviation.

At the same time, in spite of the defects we have noticed, Signor Cappelli's Dictionary may be recommended for its handiness and for the copiousness of the several lists of abbreviations contained in the volume.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON.

#### CRONIN'S *CODEx PURPUREUS*.

*Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus* (N), edited by H. S. CRONIN, M.A. (Cambridge Texts and Studies, v. 4). Pp. lxiv., 108. 1899. 5s. net. C. J. Clay.

CODEx N of the Gospels is a magnificent sixth century manuscript written in silver letters upon purple vellum. Until quite recently only 45 leaves of it were known to exist, and of these 33 are at Patmos, the remainder being distributed among the great libraries at the Vatican, Vienna, and the British Museum. But a purple codex, being a very precious treasure, would naturally be preserved with greater care than an ordinary manuscript; and scholars had been alive to the possibility of some fresh leaves of Codex N being discovered. Dr. Hort expressed his confident belief, ten years ago, that they would be found in the neighbourhood of Ephesus; and it is remarkable how nearly his prediction (for which he gave no reasons) has been verified. The existence of a valuable Gospel MS. in Asia Minor has been talked about at Constantinople since the year 1883; and, after much negotiation, all doubts as to its character were set at rest by its purchase at Sarumsahly in Cappadocia for the Emperor of Russia in 1896. The MS. now rests in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, it having been previously ascertained that its 182 leaves form a large instalment of the missing portion of Codex N.

Mr. Cronin has transcribed the entire MS.

with minute care, and has furnished in his *Introduction* an interesting account of the various mischances and dismemberments which have befallen it during the 1,300 years which have passed since it was written. It is sufficient to note here that we have now 227 leaves out of 466 which the MS. must have contained in its original state. Mr. Cronin has deemed it unnecessary to give us a facsimile of the MS., inasmuch as one may be seen in the reproduction of the Vienna Genesis. Nevertheless we are sorry that a photograph has not been provided, for the reproduction to which he refers us is not in every one's possession, and the facsimile in Scrivener's *Introduction* is very poor.

Two other purple codices, the Codex Rossanensis (Σ) and the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae (Φ) have been discovered and edited in recent years, and they both present many interesting resemblances to N, not only in the splendour of their writing, but in the character of the text which they preserve. Indeed N and Σ are so like that Mr. Cronin believes them to be copied from the same exemplar, and (very probably) at Constantinople. He prints the variants of Σ (wherever they are known) at the foot of the text of N; from which arrangement it can be seen at a glance how trifling is the variation of the one from the other. In the 91 leaves which are common to both, there are only 93 differences of text. Thus it is a peculiarly fortunate circumstance that the

leaves of N containing St. Luke and St. John have been preserved, for these Gospels are not extant in Σ, which only contains in its present state St. Matthew and St. Mark. The combined use of N and Σ enables us to determine, with a high degree of probability, what the reading of the exemplar was for almost any passage in the Gospels.

The character of the text of NΣ is, as a general rule, that of the later Greek uncials. It is 'Antiochian' or 'Syrian' in the nomenclature of Westcott and Hort, NΣ thus being the oldest Greek manuscript authorities for the so-called 'textus receptus.' The great interest of the text they present lies, however, in the fact that there are traces here and there that they have been derived from an exemplar which did not contain the smooth and polished and full Syrian readings, which afterwards established themselves well nigh all over the Christian world. Thus N omits the verses about the Bloody Sweat (Luke xxii, 43, 44); the verse *δύο ἴσονται ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ. ὁ εἰς παραληφθήσεται, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ἀφελήσεται* (Luke xvii, 36); the word *δύτε* in Luke xx, 14; and reads *πάσης* for *τῆς* in Luke xii, 15, and *ἡχους* for *ἡχούσης* in Luke xxi, 25. So again in St. John's Gospel, not only has the *Pericope de adultera* (vii, 53—viii, 11) no place in N, but the newly recovered portions of the MS. give us the readings *Βηθανία* in i, 28, and

*Ἐβραϊστί* in xx, 16, while they omit *παρὸς* in v, 30 and *ἐκείνο εἰς ὃ ἐνέβησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ* in vi, 22. The truth is that the chief importance of N, now that we have got it carefully edited, does not consist so much in the support which it gives to this or that reading, but in the light which it throws on the gradual formation of the 'Antiochian' text. We have, in fact, before us in N a good illustration, as Mr. Cronin says, of the resistance of the ancient text to change and of one of the ways in which that resistance was overcome and the better readings removed from circulation.

Mr. Cronin has given in an Appendix a collation of the text of St. Mark in the St. Petersburg MS. which Tischendorf quoted as 2<sup>pe</sup>, and which is numbered 565 by Gregory. It is a ninth or tenth century cursive, of which the texts of St. Matthew, St. Luke and St. John are of the ordinary type, having been carefully corrected so as to correspond with the text then current. But the text of St. Mark has been left untouched, and preserves many old readings. J. Belsheim published a collation of this in 1885, but that most industrious scholar's work is not always to be trusted without revision for minute details; and Mr. Cronin has done good service in going over it, and mending it where necessary.

J. H. BERNARD.

## ARCHAEOLOGY.

ANTIQUITIES OF HIERAPOLIS  
(HUMANN, CICHORIUS, JUDEICH,  
WINTER).

*Altertümer von Hierapolis*, herausgegeben von CARL HUMANN, CONRAD CICHORIUS, WALTER JUDEICH, FRANZ WINTER. Berlin, Reimer, 1898 (Ergänzungsheft IV des Jahrbuchs des Kais. deutsch. arch. Instituts): pp. 202, price 24 marks.

In June—July, 1887, the late Dr. Carl Humann, with Drs. Cichorius, Judeich and Winter, spent fourteen days at Hierapolis in Phrygia, studying the ruins, with the aid of engineering skill and machinery, copying the inscriptions, making plans and photographs. As they united their work in the preliminary stages, so they combined their literary effort. The result is the volume

before us, which appeared in the spring of 1898.

The book is appropriately dedicated to the memory of Carl Humann, whose services to the exploration of Asia Minor have been so great.

The volume contains 180 pages of text, and 20 of *indices*. There is a plan of the city, on a scale inconveniently small, in a plate at the end: and a number of photographs and slight sketches of sculptural fragments and plans of buildings are reproduced by an inexpensive process in the text. For this small and plain volume the charge is 24s. The price is excessive, and one feels inclined to repeat and confirm the strong complaints which M. S. Reinach has often made about the expensive character of recent books on Classical Archaeology. That subject is becoming a matter for the rich.



In the chapter on Hierapolis in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I expressed the confident anticipation that much would be learned from the explorations of Dr. Humann and his colleagues; and in view of this publication I did not attempt to treat Hierapolis exhaustively, but merely skimmed the surface and quoted very few of the inscriptions. The anticipation of a rich harvest has been realised up to a certain point: the number of inscriptions of Hierapolis has been raised to 363, of which the overwhelming majority have been found or recopied by one or other of the authors of this volume.

No city in Phrygia has been studied so carefully and scientifically and thoroughly. Considering how little has been done in Phrygia, and how its archaeological wealth has been neglected, one must be thankful that one of its cities has been carefully examined; yet one might have hoped that nearly eleven years of combined work on the part of such distinguished scholars would have produced greater results.

The scantiness and the disappointing nature of the results of so much skilled work are due partly to the inadequacy of the material. But there are not many ancient cities for whose history more material is available; and I cannot but suspect that want of sympathy has as much to do with the somewhat meagre outcome as want of material. The able and learned authors have their thoughts and minds directed to more purely Greek subjects and Greek cities. They often seem to regard with some contempt this humble Phrygian city; and, perhaps, have felt their work a toil and a weariness. They have not dwelt with real interest on the problem which such a city as Hierapolis presents, viz., the evolution of Graeco-Roman social forms in an Asian and Phrygian (originally Lydian) people. Their time and care have been given to more important work.

At the same time, it is unnecessary to say that the book is learned and full of instruction; and perhaps I am unreasonable in wishing for more, and in suspecting that it is rather lack of love and sympathy than elaborate study that has caused the long delay in the appearance of this report of the results of the work of 1887. Personally I am indebted to the authors for many corrections and improvements in knowledge of Phrygia.

In the following notes, as it is necessary to select from the mass of material a very few points, I speak chiefly of the inscriptions

which are edited by Dr. Judeich. It is easier to find isolated points, suitable for this short notice, in the inscriptions.

Both Dr. Judeich and Dr. Cichorius are convinced that the population of Hierapolis was divided into *phylai*, because the epithets occur *Μαλουίδος*, *Μαμωλῆδος*,<sup>1</sup> *Μοταλίδος*. They assume that these indicate *phylai*, whereas I have argued that in Hierapolis the city classification was not according to *phylai* (which were more a Greek idea), but there were in the town various trade-guilds and in the state (in its larger sense) a number of villages. This argument seems confirmed by Mr. Anderson's discoveries (reported in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* vol. 1897, p. 411 f.) and by these inscriptions. Under these epithets, quoted above, we must find names of *καίμαι* of Hierapolis, not of *φυλαί*. Anyone who reads Mr. Anderson's discoveries and his exposition of them will certainly come to this conclusion. But Judeich is right in condemning my view that *Motalis* is a personal (feminine) name.<sup>2</sup> He agrees with my view that it is derived from the village name *Motella* (now *Medele*), which makes it all the more strange that he should declare it to be a *phyle*.

The inscriptions are mostly published only in transcription, without epigraphic copies, and with only the scantiest statement as to the forms of letters, commonly with no such statement at all. The arrangement of the lines, the length of the gaps, and many other details necessary for a real critical study of the inscriptions, remain unknown and unknowable, until epigraphic copies are published. This is a most serious defect in such a work, planned on such an elaborate scale. In my *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* where economy of space and cost was a necessity, this method of publishing had to be followed and pardoned; but in the *Altertümer von Hierapolis*, it is not easy to resign one-self to such an unsatisfactory procedure. There are many of the inscriptions, whose text seems to me far from correct; but the conditions for criticism often are wanting. Where an inscription is given on the authority of a predecessor, I have observed some cases where his copy is not correctly stated.

Dr. Judeich dates No. 22 in the fifth or

<sup>1</sup> Misprinted by Cichorius on p. 33: see pp. 97, 101. Judeich accents *Μαμωλῆδος*, taking it as for *Μαμωλίδος*.

<sup>2</sup> I took it as meaning 'woman of *Motala* or *Motella*,' used as a personal name (like *Lydia*, &c.). For a good example of an ethnic turned into a proper name see *Μαγυδ[ιος]* or *Μαγυδ[εύς]* in a Ternesian inscription B.C.H. 1899, p. 174, no. 21.

sixth century. It is later than the time when Hierapolis was made an archbishopric, which was done later than 531 by Justinian as we may say with considerable confidence. In this text, line 6, the obvious restoration, *ἐκα[πτο]φόρησ[ε τὸ] κτίσμα*, is missed.

The problems presented by the remarkable inscriptions No. 31<sup>1</sup> and 43 deserve much more thorough discussion than they have received. I am not convinced that there was a *consularis* governor of a united province of Caria and Phrygia a full century before the time of Constantine, as is deduced from No. 43. The distinction between the *ταμιεὶον* of Asia and that of Phrygia in No. 31 is noteworthy. We may connect it with the facts that a *Procurator Phrygiae* existed in the second century, and a *κοινὸν Φρυγίας* already in the first century, and that there never was a temple of the *Κοινὸν Ἀσίας* in Apameia. I do not believe that Judeich (approved by Cichorius p. 32) is right in taking *ταμιεὶον* here as the *fiscus*; the confirmatory example which they quote is *ἱερώτατον ταμιεὶον*, where the adjective makes all the difference. *Ταμιεὶον* in no. 31 is the treasury of the *Koinon* of Asia. The subject is touched on in the chapter on Apameia in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*: and is too wide for this place.

In No. 78 I think Hogarth's copy ΣΕΡΒΗΝΙΟΥ is probably right, and Dr. Judeich's ΣΕΙΚΗΝΙΟΥ less accurate than the rest of his copy. Similarly in several other cases Hogarth seems to me right; but on the whole Judeich's text presents a marked improvement.

In No. 336 the unexplained ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΑΡΟΥΔΟΥ has recently been explained by Dr. Wolters as a formation from the gladiatorial designation *secunda rudis*.

In No. 118 *Κρατίστον* is printed as a proper name. It is an adjective, 'best of Archiereis.' As usual, man and wife are Highpriest and Highpriestess in the (Imperial) cultus.

Is No. 65 Christian, with the name *Παύλος*, i.e. *Παύλος*?

It seems to result from the references to the Guild of the Porphyrabaphoi that they were a Jewish guild, as were perhaps one or two others. There was evidently a considerable Jewish population in Hierapolis. I have tried to show that the Jews in Phrygia melted into the Christians, that their customs and inscriptions are difficult to keep separate, and that the Pauline

scheme of harmonizing Jews and Christians was comparatively successful in Phrygia. Dr. Judeich seems to me to miss all the light thrown on Hierapolis by these Jewish inscriptions, when he maintains that the Porphyrabaphoi were an ordinary pagan Guild. It seems irreconcilable with all we know of Jews that they would join, or bequeath money to a pagan Guild, with all the religious ceremonies and associations indissolubly connected with those Guilds: the bequests are to be used in ceremonies, undoubtedly of religious character, in memory of the deceased (in No. 342 on Pentecost and Passover), and no theory is reasonable which makes a Jew leave such a bequest to a purely pagan Guild. Dr. Ziebarth, *Vereinswesen* p. 129, rightly declares that the Porphyrabaphoi must be a Jewish Guild. But this is a big subject, on which much has yet to be said, and (it may be added) some important corrections and developments to be made in my published theory on the subject.

Inscription No. 23 is a remarkable one. It is a long dedicatory inscription, repeated from *C.I.G.* No. 8767; and the appended note informs us that it is wrongly given here, and is not taken account of in the *Indices*, but that it has been often wrongly assigned to Hierapolis. M. Cumont, and the collections for the *Vienna Corpus Inscriptionum As. Min.* are mentioned as having made this error. But why does Dr. Judeich give the text of this Peloponnesian inscription at all;<sup>2</sup> and especially why does he assign to it a separate number, making it a unit to swell the stately total of the 363 inscriptions of Hierapolis? Why not dismiss it in a note? or why not place it in the short final set of 'Inscriptions whose Hierapolitan origin is doubtful or impossible,' which are given in an *Anhang*? Can it be that Dr. Judeich himself made the same error as M. Cumont and the rest, and did not discover his error until it was too late, when the paging was completed, and the inscription could no longer be cut out and relegated to the *Anhang*?

In reading over the published inscriptions of Hierapolis for my account of the city, I discovered the error made by M. Cumont, and took some care to warn future epigraphists (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* ii. p. 552), knowing how much influence his

<sup>2</sup> The inscription belongs to Laconia, and an awkward arrangement in the *Corpus* has led hasty readers to connect it with the wrong number and so class it to Hierapolis.

<sup>1</sup> Wrongly referred to as No. 30 on p. 32.

valuable lists were sure to exercise. I even assigned a special paragraph and number 417 to this warning. Reading Dr. Judeich's No. 22, I had some hope for the moment that it might have been due to this warning that he was saved from the error, for he had my second volume before him in preparing his commentary;<sup>1</sup> but this hope was disappointed; for he would have acknowledged the service, if he had owed it to me. He does not even mention that I have been right in this detail: he says that many of his predecessors have erred, but does not add that anyone has been right; and leaves the unwary reader to gather that I was not correct, and am to be included in his sweeping '*vielfach*.' It is to be presumed that he did not read my paragraph 417; for I did not quote the Greek, and some of my German critics seem to tire of reading my purely English paragraphs (in which I sympathise with them). Yet in his preceding No. 22 he takes considerable notice of my succeeding paragraph 418, and in his succeeding No. 24 he quotes my paragraph 419. But he takes no notice of my paragraphs 415, 416, which do not quote Greek texts, but merely comment in English on texts elsewhere published; and evidently my humble attempts in 415-417 to elucidate various points and help those scholars that succeed me have escaped his attention.

Dr. Judeich has not observed that Inscription no. 2 in the *Anhang*, p. 179, after M. Perrot, is published in my *Cities and Bishoprics* I. p. 352, with a different (and I venture to think) better restoration.

The most useful conclusion to this review will be to add some remarks on a point which is obscure and controverted, and on which Dr. Judeich has changed his mind while printing the book; in his Commentary he interprets on one theory the inscriptions concerned, and abandons this in a footnote on p. 187, leaving to the reader the task of correcting the commentary. He apparently changed his opinion while indexing the names in No. 291 (which is a specially clear and emphatic case); and, from his note recording his change of opinion it might be gathered that change would be needed only in No. 291. But the case is not so simple: change is needed in the text and the commentary on many other of his inscriptions, as will be shown in several examples. I

<sup>1</sup> It evidently reached him after his commentary was in great part written, but in time to be taken notice of in several cases, and sometimes at considerable length (p. 75).

shall also mention a few cases, either specially clear (to establish the rule), or specially difficult (to prove its importance), taken from a wider range of epigraphy.

The point turns on the meaning of Greek formulas of filiation. It is now at last universally admitted that the formulas

Τάρασις β' πρεσβύτερος,  
Τάρασις δις πρεσβύτερος,

do not mean 'Tarasis, twice presbyter,' but 'Tarasis twice, presbyter'; and that the expression is abbreviated from

Τάρασις Ταράσιος πρεσβύτερος.

In other words δις is to be taken along with the preceding name.

Further, it is pretty certain (though some still ignore or even deny) that

Τάρασις νεώτερος  
Τάρασις νέος

are practically equivalent to the three variants just quoted. All five imply, 'Tarasis, son of Tarasis.'

We may add a third point—which has not been much observed, though I have elsewhere given examples of it and will add some in the following remarks—that sometimes two of these equivalent formulae are incorrectly joined pleonastically, so that

Τάρασις β' νεώτερος

means only 'Tarasis, son of Tarasis.'

But now we approach the real crux: what is the meaning of

Μένανδρος β' τοῦ Ἀρχατείου  
Μένανδρος δις τοῦ Ἀρχατείου.

It seems clear that the meaning of the first two words remains as in the previously discussed formulae, that δις is to be connected with the preceding name, and that the whole expression means

Μένανδρος Μένανδρου τοῦ Ἀρχατείου.

Dr. Judeich, while compiling his *Indices*, has come to the same conclusion; but, as he says, *die herrschende Meinung* (which he followed in his commentary) is that these formulae mean

Μένανδρος Ἀρχατείου τοῦ Ἀρχατείου.

That may be the ruling opinion in Germany; but it is not the common opinion elsewhere. I cannot at the moment quote an example from Waddington; but my memory tells me that he regularly follows the opposite principle (which may be seen in all my work on epigraphy from the beginning). I have, however, noticed several examples of the false principle in German writers recently, and one at least in a French writer.

Dr. E. Hula in the *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 100 f., partly takes the right view, interpreting

Πτολεμαῖος β' τοῦ Λευκίου

as meaning 'Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and grandson of Lucius'; but partly he goes wrong, taking the article τοῦ as attached to Λευκίου, saying that the article is thus commonly attached to the name of a grandfather or remote ancestor, but is not often used with the father's name. But, surely, here τοῦ is attached to Πτολεμαίου (understood from β') and implies νιόυ, so that the sense is

Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ (νιόυ) Λευκίου,

i.e., 'Ptolemy, (son) of Ptolemy, the (son) of Lucius.' The practice in epigraphy seems to have been to say Πτολεμαῖος Λευκίου, never Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λευκίου, but generally Πτολεμαῖον τοῦ Λευκίου (at least in Asia Minor inscriptions).

It is not to be supposed that anyone will doubt that the grammatically true interpretation is as we have stated, and that *die herrschende Meinung* is wrong in point of Greek construction and grammar. But it may be said quite plausibly that there are some serious faults in the Greek spoken in inner Asia Minor, and that the Phrygians, Lydians, etc., used the longer formulae in a false grammatical construction. It must be admitted that there are some difficult and delicate cases; but we can quote several cases, where the proper grammatical construction is obligatory, while I know none where the solecistic construction must be adopted.

As an example take first No. 291 in Dr. Judeich's inscriptions: ὁ πάππος μου Κάσμος Κάσμου τοῦ Διοδώρου καὶ ἡ μήτηρ μου Ἀμμία Κάσμου β' τοῦ Διοδώρου. Here, clearly, Ammia is daughter of Κάσμος β' τοῦ Διοδώρου, and her father is also called Κάσμος Κάσμου τοῦ Δ. Dr. Judeich, in commenting on it, drew up and printed a

genealogical *stemma* according to the *herrschende Meinung*, but on p. 187 warns the reader against that view and asks him to correct the *stemma*.

In the beginning of that same No. 291 Judeich restores a phrase [δ] βωμὸς [β'] τοῦ Θεοτίμου, i.e. 'the altar (i.e. sepulchral monument, regarded as a place of worship) belongs to (Theotimos) son of Theotimos.' The restoration is certainly false. I have never seen any such formula. One can understand why Judeich might suggest it in his commentary, when he was still under the '*herrschende Meinung*' that δὲς or β' must always be connected with the following personal name; but it is hardly conceivable that he should still cling to it after recognizing on p. 187 that δὲς is regularly connected with the preceding personal name. Yet so it is: he maintains that impossible restoration and interpretation, and founds on it (as sole example) the rule '*die Stellung des Zahladverbs bei allein-stehenden Mannesnumen wechselt.*' The symbol which he restores as B is shown in Dr. Winter's copy as Γ (like a *gamma* with the horizontal bar separated from the vertical); and, if it is rightly copied, it is not consistent with the restoration [B]. But what is it? That cannot be certainly stated; but the probability is that we have here an error of the engraver (who has also omitted PA in ἀντίγραφον, and added a false symbol after B in line 2). The engraver, perhaps, had to write a short genitive ending with IOY or TOY and followed by the article TOY, and he omitted the greater part of the first name: possibly he should have written ΓΑΙΟΥΤΟΥ or ΤΑΤΟΥΤΟΥ or ΠΙΟΥΤΟΥ, and he wrote only ΓΤΟΥ.

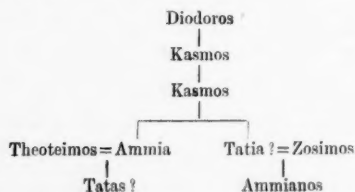
Further, the probability is that two daughters of Kasmos with their husbands are mentioned: Dr. Judeich restores the same feminine name in both cases, and says that this woman married two brothers.

The inscription then should perhaps read: (291) [δ] βωμὸς [Τ(άτου)] τοῦ Θεοτίμου, ἐν ᾗ κεκήδεται ὁ πάππος μου Κάσμος Κάσμου τοῦ Διοδώρου καὶ ἡ μήτηρ μου Ἀμμία Κάσμου β' τοῦ Διοδώρου. ταύτης τῆς ἐπ. α. α. ε. τ. α. (292)<sup>1</sup> [Ἀμ]μianoῦ τοῦ Ζωσίμου ἐν ᾗ κεκήδεται ὁ πάππος μου Κάσμος [Κάσμου] τοῦ Διοδώρου [καὶ] ἡ μήτηρ [μου Τατ]ία Κάσμου β' τοῦ Διοδώρου. ταύτης τῆς ἐκ. α. α. ε. τ. α.

<sup>1</sup> No. 292 follows 291 immediately, on the same stone and the same side of it.



Two names Tatas and Tatia are restored *exempli gratia*. The stemma is



In *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I have followed the rule of connecting  $\delta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ , with the preceding name. In the genealogies which can be gathered from the Ormelian inscriptions<sup>1</sup> many instances proving the right principle occur: e.g. we find<sup>2</sup>

'Αττῆς  $\delta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  τοῦ 'Οσαεῖ  
'Οσαῖς 'Αττῆδος  $\delta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  τοῦ 'Οσαεῖ  
'Αττῆς  $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  τοῦ 'Οσαεῖ.

Here Attes the elder evidently had two sons, Osais and Attes; and the stemma must be



In one case, on p. 333, I have 'raised the question,' whether  $\delta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  should not be connected with the following name (saying that

'Απολλωνίου ( $\delta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ) τοῦ  
Μενάνδρου τοῦ 'Απολλωνίου ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΑΡΟΥΔΟΥ

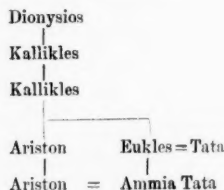
implying that BTOY occurred in the epigraphic text at the end of line 1; but there appear no letters after 'Απολλωνίου in line 1 in the copy of *C.I.G.* which I have consulted, and the order and spaces show that there could not possibly be any letters lost at the end of that line or the beginning of the second line. The evidence is clear that the name must be read 'Απολλωνίου Μενάνδρου τοῦ 'Απολλωνίου, to which we should add Σεκουναρούδου,<sup>3</sup> as an epithet of the younger Apollonius (placed, according to the common custom, after his father's and grandfather's name). Later in the inscription the son of

<sup>1</sup> Specimens are given on p. 315; but I had prepared many more, which would have taken up too much space.

<sup>2</sup> See Sterrett, *Epigr. Journey*, No. 53, c 5, 34, 37.

<sup>3</sup> On this epithet see an earlier paragraph.

this is contrary to the usual rule); but I was wrong. The stemma is



Eukles is mentioned with his wife Tata in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1898, p. 92.

Again in No. 274 the dominion of the *herrschende Meinung* has led Dr. Judeich astray. He reads  $\Delta\upsilon\rho$ . 'Αμμιανού β' Τεχνέτου, and censures M. Waddington for reading τεχνέτου. Obviously, his reason is the fixed belief that  $\delta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  must refer to the following name; but when he has cleared his mind of that prejudice he should follow Waddington and translate 'Aur. Ammianos, son of Ammianos, artisan.'

No. 336 is taken from the very bad copy given in *C.I.G.* No. 3916: unfortunately the German explorers of 1887 did not find it; nor have I seen it. The epigraphic text is not repeated by Dr. Judeich, but a few specimens of it are given in the critical notes. It is therefore specially important here to mark all restorations distinctly. Yet at the end of line 1 Dr. Judeich adds two important words, without brackets, giving the reader to understand that there are symbols corresponding to them in the epigraphic text. His text is printed thus:—

'Απολλωνίου ( $\delta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ) τοῦ  
Μενάνδρου τοῦ 'Απολλωνίου ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΑΡΟΥΔΟΥ

this Apollonius is mentioned. The copy is very bad there, but it should probably be read 'Α[π]ο[λλω]ν[ι]ος [β']<sup>4</sup> 'Α[π]ο[λλω]νίου τοῦ [Με]νάνδρου: the engraver has used β' and then unnecessarily repeated the name of the father; but examples of this are not infrequent.

In Prof. Sterrett's *Epigraphic Journey* No. 53 C 1, 2, the name occurs Μῆνις  $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  Μῆνιδος Νεκάδου. Here probably we should not understand that the name was used in four successive generations, but only in

<sup>4</sup> The copy has P, an obvious mistake for B.

<sup>5</sup> There is a fault in Dr. Judeich's report of the epigraphic text of this name: he omits N. After the name the copyist inserts E by another mistake: the copy is full of mistakes, and some passages are hopeless. Dr. Judeich takes E as wrongly copied for B, and therefore forces BTOY into line 1, where there is no space for it.



three, the genitive Μήνιδος being unnecessary: render 'Menis, son of Menis, the son of Menis, the son of Neikadas.'

Now take some more difficult cases. In No. 40 we have a certain board of magistrates τῶν περὶ Μαρ. Αὔρ. 'Απολλώνιον δις Πυλῶνα<sup>1</sup> [κῆ] Μαρ. Αὔρ. 'Αρμιανὸν 'Αρμιανοῦ δις τοῦ Γλύκωνος. Here it is certain that we cannot understand 'Αρμιανὸν 'Αρμιανοῦ (Αρμιανοῦ) τοῦ Γλύκωνος. Are we then to follow the *herrschende Meinung*, and understand 'Αμ. 'Αρμιανοῦ (Γλύκωνος) τοῦ Γλύκωνος? I think not: this is one of many cases in which a double formula is used pleonastically, and δις is simply otiose and unnecessary. Translate 'M. Aur. Ammianus, son of Ammianus, the (son) of Glykon.'

With M. Αὔρ. 'Απολλώνιον δις Πυλῶνα compare Le Bas-Wadd. No. 649 and 656, Φλ. Αὔρ. 'Ηφαιστῖωνα δις Παπιανόν.<sup>2</sup> In each case the name of the son agreed with the name of the father in everything except the last *cognomen*, by a common custom. In view of the customs followed in the personal names of the period, it would be absurd to say that the father of Flavius Aurelius Hephaestion Papianos was called Papianos but had different *praenomen* and *nomen* and first *cognomen*; yet so the *herrschende Meinung* asserts.

In this connexion it may be added that the restoration of an inscription of Attaleia in Lydia, given by MM. Radet and Lechat in *B.C.H.* 1887, p. 400, should be altered in one slight detail: read ἐπὶ στρατηγῶν 'Αρτέμωνο[s] β' τοῦ 'Απολλωνίου τὸ β' (not 'Αρτέμωνο[s] τὸ β', etc., as restored in *B.C.H.*), i.e. 'when Artemon, son of Artemon the son of Apollonius, was strategos for the second time.' The expression τὸ β' is never used in formulae of filiation, but only in making the statement of a repeated magistracy (Latin *iterum*). It may be added that the word εὐφημία, at the end of the following inscription on p. 401, is explained by Dr. Wilhelm in *A. E. Mitth. Oest.* 1897, p. 62 (though he does not mention this case).

While I have ventured to give here a few of the corrections that occurred to me in reading over the inscriptions, let me acknowledge thankfully the great amount of trouble and skill expended by Dr. Judeich on the

inscriptions. I fear only that he felt the task an ungrateful and irksome and thankless one; and that this feeling in his mind has sometimes caused him to weary of the task, and thus to fail occasionally in reaching the high standard of excellence which his other work has taught us to expect from him.

W. M. RAMSAY.

#### TAYLOR'S HISTORY OF THE ALPHABET.

*The History of the Alphabet*: An account of the Origin and Development of Letters. By ISAAC TAYLOR, M.A., Litt.D., Hon. LL.D., Canon of York. New edition. Edward Arnold, London.

WHEN the first edition of this attractive work appeared, in 1883, its merits and its defects were sufficiently dwelt upon by the various reviewers. It was recognised as one of that class of works which cannot adequately be undertaken by any single scholar or specialist. While the author was not denied a liberal measure of praise for his ambitious attempt to bring under a comprehensive view the history of all the alphabets under the sun, including certain species of written character, such as Chinese and the Cypriote syllabary, which cannot strictly be called alphabets at all; yet the criticism passed on the detailed accounts of individual alphabets was severe.

Most of the work lies beyond the scope of the *Classical Review*; we propose, therefore, not to venture beyond the consideration of the alphabets represented by the Classical languages. How far the treatment which these alphabets receive is an indication of the quality of work in the rest of the treatise is a question which must be left now, as in the case of the first edition, to the specialists.

Now, as regards the first edition, complaint was made that, while the author in treating of the Greek alphabet, had referred to, and used the original *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum* of Boeckh, there was no indication that he had used or knew the existence of the *Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae* of Roehl, which had been published at least a year before the appearance of *The Alphabet*. In consideration of the enormous number of authorities to be consulted up to the last moment in a work of this kind, the author is entitled to every indulgence for his first edition, especially if

<sup>1</sup> Judeich reads Πυλῶνα, while he was under the *herrschende Meinung* that δις must refer to the following name (which in that case must be in the genitive here): I read an accusative like Wadd. 656 (quoted in next paragraph).

<sup>2</sup> Παπιανόν 656, Παπιανόν 649: one or other is an error: Π and IT are easily confused.

his pages were already in the hands of the printer. We turn then with all the more curiosity and expectation to this 'second edition,' published some fifteen years after the first. Will it be believed that in the section dealing with the Greek alphabet, not one single alteration has been made? Not one single recent work has been quoted, the edition of Kirchhoff's *Studien* referred to is still the third, though the fourth appeared as long ago as 1887, and there is not even an allusion to the most archaic of archaic Greek writing, the older inscriptions of Crete discovered many years ago. If we turn to the historical account of the Latin alphabet, we find that in the first edition there was no hint of the existence of retrograde, or right-to-left, and boustrophedon writing, though the Duenos-inscription was brought to light in 1880. Nor does this new edition contain any allusion to discoveries, vital to the accurate history of the Latin alphabets, which have been familiar to scholars for many years. The revelation of this singular lack of enterprise prompts to a rough and ready mechanical examination of the whole work. A comparison of the new with the old edition shows that, with a few insignificant exceptions, the new edition is a word for word and page for page reprint of the old. Even the index at the end of Volume ii retains the paging of the original, an interposed page of notes being, for purposes of pagination, ignored. The amount of new or altered matter is as follows: in Volume i (1) a short preface in which the author congratulates himself, perhaps too confidently, that several novel theories advanced in the first edition, such as those relating to the origin of the Glagolitic alphabet and the Runes have, to judge from the approval or silent acquiescence of experts, stood the test of criticism; (2) a page at the end of the volume containing a few corrective notes. In Volume ii, we observe on p. 190 the cancelling of a somewhat hasty derivation; on p. 332 and p. 346 a reference is added; pp. 347-349 (on the vernacular alphabets of India) are remodelled, and before the Index is inserted a page of notes.

The first edition would seem to have been stereotyped—a fatal error in a work claiming to be scientific and dealing with departments of literature in which almost daily discoveries were being made and are likely to be made. We cannot but conjecture that the author who had spent years of patient research in elaborating his first edition must have been hurried by his publishers into the

issue of a second edition, which in fairness to the possessors of the old edition ought to have been described as a reprint; and that he was throughout 'cribb'd, cabin'd and confin'd' by the exigencies of type already too unalterably set up. To the general reader who desires only a convenient and delightful introduction to a study, in which so far as it gives a bird's-eye view Dr. Taylor still holds the field, this new edition will present all the charm of the first. But to the scholar who might have expected to find in it the résumé of the latest that has been said and discovered in his own department, the work is a grievous disappointment. If Dr. Taylor could prevail upon his publishers to consider even now the possibility of a third edition, and would associate with himself in the work a company of younger specialists who would be responsible for bringing the historical matter up to the present standard of knowledge, he would confer upon scholars an obligation not inferior to that which they already gratefully acknowledge.

E. S. ROBERTS.

#### THE 'BRIDGE' AT ARICIA.

Juv. iv. 117.

caecus adulator dirisque a ponte satelles  
dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes.

Readers of this Review may remember an attempt to identify Juvenal's *pons* with a 'causeway' on the Via Appia, near Aricia (vii. 400; viii. 16). Mr. Owen has since reexamined this work, and I have lately examined and measured it with Mr. T. Ashby. We had at first wished to write a joint article on the subject, but we found it would be clearer to put them in two consecutive notes. I begin, therefore, with a statement of facts and my deductions, and Mr. Owen follows with his deductions. Canina's plans, to which I shall refer, are in *Mon. Ined.* ii. (1837), xxxix.; *Annali* ix. (1837) and *Edifici* vi. (1856) lxxv. Canina apparently excavated on the spot in 1835 on behalf of Lord Stanhope and the Institute.

The situation is as follows. The Appian Way, on its course southwards, descends from the heights of Albano and skirts the eastern edge of the little plain—once a lake—called Vallericcia: here it traverses the area of Roman Aricia, of which the ruins are clear. Leaving that town by its

southern gate, part of which still stands, the road mounts the opposite slope, climbing along the hillside in a great curve, as a modern railway might climb. Immediately after the commencement of the ascent, on a gradient of 1:25 or 1:30 is the 'causeway.' Here, for 666 feet (as we measured) the outer side of the road, that is, the side away from the hill, is supported by massive *opus quadratum*, which is in places 25 feet in height. Canina says that at one point it is 40 feet high, but we noted nothing beyond 25 feet. On the inner side of the road there is at present a cultivated field, nearly level with the roadway, but this has been artificially levelled, as a glance at it shows, and there are signs that part of the 'causeway' once had its inner face banked with masonry like the outer face. Canina indicates this, probably as a result of his excavations and evidence can still be detected. The visible, outer face of *opus quadratum* is pierced by four arched apertures placed at irregular intervals and passing right under the road. Two of these are about 15 feet wide at the base and equally high: the third is a drain, 3 feet wide and 4 high, and Canina mentions a second drain, noticed by Mr. Owen. Now, one of the larger apertures is 29 feet long and has at its inner end traces of facing stones, though it is now banked up with earth and stones. That is, the causeway here originally stood free, and the same was likely enough the case at the other larger aperture, which we could not examine properly. Both apertures are apparently paved: that is, they are apertures in the 'causeway' and not spans across a space of ground. One of the drains we traversed to its end, but could not decide whether it originally opened into the air like the large aperture, or (as I think) drained the land-springs in the hillside on to the fields below, as it does at present. Neither of the drains, however, has any bearing on the present question of the interpretation of Juvenal, and for our purposes they may be disregarded.

The meaning of the whole is not hard to conjecture. The 'causeway' carried the road up broken ground: parts of it were walled only on one side and otherwise rested on the hill, while at two points it stood free and two arched apertures let through the surface water. At these two points the 'causeway' was 29 feet wide. The roadway on the top is consistently 15 feet wide, the usual measure of the paving along the Appian Way. The two apertures do not constitute bridges: they are too small for

that, especially when viewed in relation to the size of the whole work, and are simply openings in an embankment at irregular intervals. It would be more correct not to speak of a 'causeway' but of an embankment on a gradient. The whole is good work, but in no way surpasses some other stone embankments on the Via Appia, and it is misleading to call it magnificent or celebrated or anything extraordinary.

I am inclined, therefore, to conclude that the 'causeway' cannot be Juvenal's *pons* (1) because two smallish apertures, placed irregularly in a large and long wall of masonry, do not constitute a 'bridge' in an ordinary way, and (2) because the whole thing is not distinctive enough to be thus mentioned casually and without explanation. If the great Papal Viaduct up above the site of the 'causeway' had been in question, that might unquestionably have been called *Pons*. You can see that for miles, and when you drive over it, you know you are on a magnificent bridge. But if you drove up the 'causeway,' you would never even guess you crossed an aperture of any sort, not even a *ponticulus*. Besides, the passage translates quite well without this theory. A *ponte* can be taken like *pastor ab Amphryso* and the rest of such expressions — 'hailing from a bridge' that is, a beggar, or like (*servus*) a *rationibus*, a *libellis* and the rest. The context suggests the latter. This point, however, is not material to the interpretation of *pons*, for it is obvious that whatever difficulties of Latinity beset the rendering 'from a bridge,' beset equally the rendering 'from The Bridge.'

F. HAVERFIELD.

The meaning 'hailing from a bridge,' elsewhere expressed by Juvenal by *de ponte* (14, 134) can hardly be elicited from a *ponte*, in the absence of exact parallel. The expressions *pastor ab Amphryso* &c., which I quoted *C. R.* vii. 401, are from other authors, and rather different: while the analogies produced by Mayor, *a teatro*, *a manu*, &c. are misleading, for these phrases all denote an office or dignity, and though a beggar has his beat, that beat cannot be regarded as an office or a dignity. Therefore as no other explanation seems satisfactory, I still hold that a *ponte* refers to the stone-faced causeway along which the Appia passes as it proceeds to climb the hill towards Genzano. The level of the ground has risen, as is usual,

since ancient times. That it has greatly risen is attested by the fact that the arch of the southern gate of Aricia is now deeply embedded in earth. I have little doubt that the part of the causeway where the arches are, stood clear on both sides in Roman times: the valley on the eastern side has filled up since. There are two large arches on the causeway in the middle, and a small one beyond each, at the northern and southern extremities. The fourth arch, the small one nearest the town, is much overgrown and banked up with earth, but was clearly visible when I saw it to my great joy in April, 1898. The causeway in question then contains four arches: such a structure I still consider might be described by Juvenal as a *pons*. Indeed how else could a poet describe it? The correct architectural word is *substructio* (Frontinus, *De aquaed.* i. p. 227; Keuchen, 'substructionibus aut opere arcuato.'). But against such an unmetrical word, Juvenal might well have exclaimed

lex pedis officio fortunaque nominis obstat,  
quaque meos adeas, est via nulla, modos.

He would then be driven to use the word *pons*. This word, connected by Vaníček (Etymologisches Wörterbuch, p. 152) with *πάρος* a track, *πατέω* I tread, means a thing one goes over: cp. *perpetuus* = going on, *compitum* = a going together. *Pons* then signifies a means of going from one side to the other. The Arician *pons* fulfils this requirement; it goes from the town to the hill. Though the sense of *pons* is generally restricted so as to mean a bridge going over water, the word is also used in the sense of a causeway across a morass. Hirtius, *B. G.* 8, 14, *pontibus palude constratis legiones traducit*. Tac. *A.* 1, 61, § 2: 63 § 5. The *pons longus* of Colonia (Catull. 17) appears to have been a kind of causeway across a marsh. Statius *Silv.* 4, 3, 125 (speaking of Domitian's road near Cumae) uses the word of a causeway *veniet fauente caelo | qui foedum nemus et putres harenas | celsis pontibus et uia leuabit*. I think then that *pons* in Juvenal refers to the structure in question. The poet says that Catullus the courtier, whose place is in the Alban Palace of Domitian on the hill above, ought, if he got his deserts, to join the brotherhood of beggars, and beg on the causeway in the valley below the palace.

G. OWEN.

### WARDE FOWLER'S ROMAN FESTIVALS.

*The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, by W. WARDE FOWLER. 8vo., 373 pp. Macmillan.

THE years 1899–1900 bid fair to be as notable for contributions to the study of Roman religion as were the years 1883–1885, when Jordan revised Preller's *Römische Mythologie* (finished in 1883), Roscher founded his memorable *Lexikon* (1884), and Wissowa revised the *Sacral-archäologie* in Marquardt's *Handbuch* (1885). The present work opened the year 1899, it has already been followed by Emil Aust's *Religion der Römer* (Münster i. W. Aschendorff), and we may expect Georg Wissowa's book on Roman religion for Iwan Mueller's *Handbuch* before many months.

A study of Roman religion based on the calendar is no new idea which needs an introduction; it is as old as the Augustan age when a scholar and a poet both wrote on this plan. For the Romans it was the most natural and convenient method, but from our standpoint it is neither natural nor convenient and has, especially in an introductory text-book, serious disadvantages, caused principally by the necessary scattering and consequent separation of kindred topics. The author frankly acknowledges this (p. 19) and strives to reduce the evil to a minimum by adding a concluding chapter of a general character and good indices. The evil is there, however, and yet if we examine the book closely, I think we shall acquiesce in his choice, for there is a supreme advantage gained by following the calendar. It lies in the fact that in a book of small compass, we can thus best fulfil the first demand of real scholarship, the preservation of a sharp line of demarcation between *fact* and *theory*. The student may need to read a book thus planned more often and more slowly, but eventually he will have a hold on the subject greater than would ever be possible from the perusal of a merely ideological presentation.

Any attempt to criticise a book containing such a mass of small points as the one in hand, must meet detail by detail, and one of the strong points of the 'Roman Festivals' is that like any well written book in a field as disputed as Roman religion, by its very lucidity and thoroughness it arouses a spirit of antagonism, and in many cases provides the weapons with which to fight. This is, undoubtedly, part of the author's



purpose, as it ought to be of everyone who realises the eternally unfinished state of our knowledge concerning the religious beliefs of the Romans. Before descending to minor criticism which, to be profitable, must be mainly adverse, it is fair to examine the general purpose and spirit of the book, which merit very high praise. In his preface the author tells us of years of labour intermittently applied to his subject, and we are more than ready to believe him, for his work bears every mark of having slowly ripened into its final form and of not having been 'forced' for the market by a kind of literary 'hot-house culture' so common in these days. There is no haste and no superficiality about it. This is attested among other things by his command of the literature of the subject. It is a real pleasure to see the faithful work, notably of German scholarship, published unobtrusively in *Programme, Indices Lectionum*, and inaugural theses, brought into its merited place and used to the full. The older works, those for example, of Merkel and Lobeck, are often referred to, as well as the latest contributions to the subject, e.g., by Wissowa, Roscher, Aust, Peter, De Marchi. I shall take occasion below to mention one or two omissions. In his use of this vast mass of literature the author has employed a method which is abundantly deserving of imitation. He has not contented himself with mere dead citations, but has enlivened and enriched his quotations by giving the gist of the matter in a sentence or two, following this in many cases, in a foot note, by a criticism not only of the particular work, but of the author as well. As these criticisms seem to me, in the main, just, they cannot fail to profit the beginner, by putting him on his guard and giving him what our German friends call a '*genaue Orientierung*.' For the advanced student they lend a very decided piquancy to the flavour of the book, for they are never lacking in boldness; though they are always kindly. The quotations, as far as I have tested them, are accurate; there is, however, a rather too free use of the formula '*op. cit.*' a practice as inconvenient for the reader as it is convenient for the author. As the book is intended for reference quite as much as for consecutive reading, it is extremely awkward to have to look back through footnotes, e.g., on p. 90, note 4, where the reader has to go back two pages to find what 'Hugh Macmillan, *op. cit.*, p. 121,' means. The articles in Roscher's *Lexikon* are usually cited with the author's name; they ought

always to be, in a work where the quality of the contributors varies as much as it does there. On p. 333 I am delighted to find a favourite treatise of mine (L. Krahner's *Grundlinien zur Geschichte des Verfalls der römischen Staatsreligion* Halle 1837), highly recommended, but as neither the place of publication, nor the German title is given, it is to be feared that the reader who hears of it for the first time, will have some difficulty in getting hold of it—a footnote would have saved trouble. But this is a great exception, and a very pardonable one, in a book offering so many chances for such slips, of which so few actually occur. It is to be regretted that the author did not add one more rubric to his admirable indices, and give us a collected bibliography—after the fashion of E. A. Gardner's in his *Greek Sculpture*, another book of the same series—a mere catalogue of the books he has incidentally cited would make a very complete list of the most valuable works on the subject. In that case an extended system of abbreviations might have been employed, similar in plan to the small one printed on the page back of the table of contents, with a decided gain in clearness and space.

Judged by 'the company he keeps,' the author seems to stand where three ways meet—he is in full sympathy with the patient *Detailforschung* of the Germans, inclined to supplement this by a judicious use of the masses of material, without form and void, which the folk-lorists have heaped together, and disposed to keep on a broad gauge by the use of books dealing with other fields of religious history, e.g., Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*. This is a combination as desirable as it is rare. He never manifests impatience with the most minute points, for example, the discussions regarding the *dies natalicius* of an obscure temple, and on the other hand, he seldom lets the glittering hypothesis of the folk-lorists carry him off his feet. There is undoubtedly much to be said for the use of folk-lore in interpreting Roman religion, as enabling us to pass from the cult-practices about which we are often informed to the underlying motives of which we usually know nothing, yet possibly the reader may feel the need of an *ἀπορρόσραον* against the 'Corn-spirit' in the book (cf., index s. v. *Corn-spirit*), though a foot-note on p. 118 shows the author is on his guard. In two places only do we find traces of Spencerian Euhemerism (in the treatment of *Faunus*, p. 258, seq., and that of *Carmentis*, p. 292); in both of these cases his *pietas* in following



an old teacher makes us ready to forgive, though I doubt if the arguments adduced will prevail to convince us that the *Fauni* and the *Carmentes* were apotheosized recollections, the first of 'wild men from the hills,' the second of 'wise women whose skill and spells assisted the operation of birth.' At least one difficulty is that the plurality of *Fauni* and *Carmentes* seems to belong to a comparatively recent epoch, whereas the earliest cult knew only of *Faunus* and *Carmenta* or *Carmentis*. In the latter case, two attributes of the birth-goddess originally expressed in a pair of cult-titles *Porrina*, *Postvorta*, (cf. *Patulcius-Clusivius*, *Panda-Cela*, and the other instances collected in my pamphlet *De deorum Romanorum cognominibus*, *Quaestiones selectae*, Leipsic, Teubner, 1898), afterwards attained to an individuality separate from *Carmenta* and from each other. Yet as the author himself says (p. 265), 'on such questions certainty is impossible, and dogmatism entirely out of place.' The one road which the author avoids, and by his avoidance, will, I venture to say, win the approval of all sober scholars, is that of etymology (cf. p. 35, 258, and esp. 163 ff.). The inability of etymology as employed in the study of religion, to carry a man anywhere except into the ditch, does not need much demonstration since Usener's *Götternamen* showed what havoc it could wreak, even in the hands of a scholar who, in point of brilliancy and learning, has few peers.

I turn now to certain details. P. 37 ff. In connection with the discussion of Mars, the conservatism displayed in regard to Roman mythology is very refreshing, but on the question whether Mars had to do originally with *vegetation*, the last word has not yet been said. P. 53 note 2. The quotation from Varro Sat. Men. fr. 506 *te Anna ac Peranna* which is supposed to offer 'some ground for believing that the two words implied two deities on occasion or originally' seems to me to indicate the opposite. Were not *Anna* and *Perenna* or *Peranna* simply two cult-titles, embracing from two sides the functions of a goddess, whose name is to us unknown, *Anna* as the goddess of the year at its beginning, *Perenna* as the goddess of the year at its end? P. 55. In support of the thesis that *Liber*, the god of fertility in general, was originally *Juppiter Liber*, possibly a reference might be given to the other epithets of Juppiter, which indicate his relationship to fertility, though to be sure they seem all of them comparatively young, i.e. *J. Almus* (Augustin, *de civ. dei* vii. 11)

*J. Frugifer* (C.I.L. xii. 336 and Apul. *de mundo* 37.) *J. Maius* (Macr. Sat. i. 12, 17). P. 56. Of a goddess *Pubertas* I have been able to find no trace. Is this not a misstatement for *Juventas* (cf. note 4 on the same page). P. 68. The absence of *Venus Verticordia* from the *Fasti Praenestini* and its presence in Lydus may possibly be accounted for by the fact that Lydus's statement goes back directly or indirectly to Verrius Flaccus's *Commentarii de feriis* of which the *Fasti Praenestini* was merely an abbreviation. *Fortuna Virilis* the more important goddess is alone met in the *Fasti*, while the *Commentarii*, being fuller, added the less important *Venus Verticordia*. P. 80. The suggestion *Pales (urbana) = Palatua* is ingenious, but I doubt if it will gain much of a following. P. 89 note 5 add Prell-Rob. i. 260, 4. The same page (n. 2) contains a very valuable definition of *indigitation* P. 100. On the *Lares Praestites*, Wissowa's *Analecta Romana Topographica* (p. 18, 19) Halle 1897 should have been used. Wissowa shows that this day (May 1st) was the original dedication day of the *Aedes Larum in summa Sacra Via*, which was restored by Augustus and rededicated on June 27 (cf. Ovid *F.* vi. 791). The *Lares Praestites* are merely dragged in here by Ovid in order to tell the *αἴτιον*. P. 121, 2. Is *Mercurius* anything else but the Roman equivalent for (Ἑρμῆς) ἐμπολαῖος? P. 124. In as much as *Fortuna Primigenia* does not seem to have had the cult-title of *Publica*, it seems preferable to me to consider the *Fasti Venusini* in error at this date. The correct dedication day of the temple of *Fortuna Primigenia* was probably Nov. 13 (cf. *Fasti Arv.*), a date especially appropriate, being the *ides*, a day sacred to Juppiter whose daughter this very *Fortuna Primigenia* was (cf. my *Cognomina* p. 53 s.v. *Primigenia* and *Publica*) P. 130 n. 4. For the derivations of *Moneta*, Jordan *Top.* 2, 109 might be added. I doubt whether Livius Andronicus's translation *Μνημοσύνη = Moneta* gives us much more help than his other famous parallel *Μοῖρα = Morta*, P. 131. On *Janus* and *Cardea* might be compared Wissowa *Philol. Abhandl.* M. Hertz *dargebracht* p. 165. Since the publication of the 'Festivals' we have Aust's articles in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. *Cardea* and *Carna*. P. 142, 2. The scepticism in regard to the age of the term *Juno = Genius muliebris* is well in place. P. 156. On the veiled statue in the temple of *Fortuna in foro Boario* compare Wissowa *Anal. Rom. Top.* p. 8, 9. P. 160 n. 4. If, as the author

asserts, the *Jovis signum*, of Livy's epit. 14, is a confusion with a statue of *Summanus*, he has no authority for the statement that the foundation of the temple of the latter 'was the result of the destruction by lightning, no doubt at night, of a figure of Juppiter on the Capitol.' But altogether aside from this minor point, it is at least possible that *Summanus* was a function of Juppiter originally attached to him in the form of a cult-title, which gradually separated itself from him and took on an individuality of its own (cf. *Terminus* and *Juppiter*.) Possibly the presence of two inscriptions to *Juppiter Summanus*—*C.I.L.* v. 3256 (Verona), v. 5660 (Ager Mediolan.) may indicate a survival of the old cult, but not much weight can be attached to them, as they are late and may indeed be merely a local contamination, *P.* 171. On the tomb at Vulci, G. Körte's article in the *Jahrbuch des deutsch. Archäolog. Instituts* xii. (1897) p. 57 ff. should be cited. *P.* 196. we may ask whether 'the genuine Italian Hercules' ever existed. *P.* 197. The interpretation of the bronze vase from Capua, as *Hercules* and *Cacus* is extremely doubtful, cf. C. Robert in *Hermes* xix (1884) p. 480. *P.* 209. In the quotation of the mutilated fragment from the Arval calendar to Aug. 23, there is a curious (intentional?) inversion of the order as given by Mommsen *C.I.L.*<sup>2</sup> I. p. 215. *P.* 229. The most authoritative derivation of *Juppiter Feretrius* and worth quoting, even if one does not agree, is that of Osthoff in Domatzewski's *Religion des röm. Heeres* p. 120. *P.* 233 n. 5. Add Plut. Numa 15 and Arnob. v. 1, but the latter passage mentions the swindler Valerius Antias as the source—a fact which ought to be mentioned as a decided check on its credibility. *P.* 239. The sceptical attitude toward the existence of a goddess *Meditrina* in the face of R. Peter's article in Roscher is highly commendable. *P.* 266. On the *Septimontium*, Wissowa in the *Satura Viadrina*, Breslau 1897 should be compared. *P.* 289. May not *Janus Junonius* be simply the designation of that particular arch (Janus) worshipped at the *Tigillum Sororium* along with *Juno Sororia*? *Quirinus* seems to be an eponym rather than a genuine *ἑπικλησις* (see below). *P.* 303. He accepts unhesitatingly the 'spear' derivation for *Juno Quiritis*, but it is anything but sure. Why may not *Quiritis* be connected with *Quirinus*, both as Eponyms, when we should have *Quiritis*: *Quirinus*: *Quirium* (the town or region) in rough similarity to *Samnitis*: *Sabinus*: *Samnium* (cf. Th. Birt

*Ind. Lect. Marp.* 1887. p. xiv, xv). *P.* 309. The phrase 'Lares of the family' is unfortunate (even if Ovid does use it in the passage quoted). The author would probably be the last to support a theory of the plurality of the *Lar Familiaris*; he is using the phrase as the Romans themselves did i.e. as an equivalent of *Lar* and *Penates*, yet it is apt to be misleading to a beginner. *P.* 324. Is the identification of *Flora* and *Horta Quirini* intended; or is *Flora* merely a printer's slip for *Hora*?

The following typographical errors have caught my eye: p. 47 (middle) *Varrius* > *Verrius*: p. 72 (middle) *June 25* > *June 24*; p. 167 (last line) *Primogenia* > *Primigenia*; p. 217 (two thirds down) *v.c.* 230 > *b.c.* 220 (the correct date is given on p. 252); p. 231 n. 3 *Retzel* > *Ratzel* (?). On p. 18 and 243 the home of Prof. Wissowa is given as *Berlin*, it should be *Halle* <sup>a/S</sup>.

To serve as an 'Introduction' the book is well fitted in spite of its difficulty. The inevitable severity of treatment has been relieved as much as was possible without loss of dignity. Yet it is not for the beginner alone, and it is safe to predict that the 'Roman Festivals' will be woven into the web of scientific investigation by being frequently quoted in the future. The only sad feature about the book is one for which the author is not responsible, except in a way flattering to himself; it is the added proof, which his work affords, of the limitations of our possible knowledge of the subject. When an author so equipped with the natural gift of shrewd judgment and the acquired one of great learning is compelled again and again to bring in the Scotch verdict of *non liquet* it shows us the poverty of the Testimonies, and the untrustworthy character of many of our witnesses, to say nothing of the general difficulty of dealing with purely circumstantial evidence. But we are the richer for the book, both for what it contains in itself, as well as for the stimulus to investigation which it ought to afford.

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## MONTHLY RECORD.

### ITALY.

Rome.—On the 17th of November a hidden treasure of gold pieces, nearly 400 in number, came to light close to the Church of S. Maria Liberatrice, near the house of the Vestals. The majority (over 300) belong to the Emperor Anthemius, who died A.D. 467, and

there are nine rare specimens with the name of his wife Aelia Marcia Euphemia, daughter of Marcianus. The oldest dates from Constantius II. (337-361), and bears figures of Rome and Constantinople supporting a shield inscribed GLORIA REIPUBLICAE; there are also aurei of Valentinian III. (425-455), representing the Emperor crushing a dragon, of Libius Severus, of Marcianus, and of Leo I. (457-474). They were probably hidden at the time of a barbaric invasion in the last quarter of the fifth century.<sup>1</sup>

The Curia of Diocletian (A.D. 283) is fast being brought into evidence in the Church of S. Adriano by the demolition of the surrounding houses and the removal of the rubbish from the façade. The discovery of the foundations of the intervening steps shows that the area of the later Comitium was many feet lower than that of the old Curia. A pedestal found opposite the door of the Comitium bears two sets of records, the first of A.D. 154, in the consulship of L. Verus and Sex. Lateranus, the other being a dedication to Mars by Maxentius in A.D. 312, just before his defeat by Constantine the Great.<sup>2</sup>

*Fano, near Pesaro* (the ancient Fanum Fortunae). Remains of a great public edifice have come to light, possibly the basilica described by (pseudo-) Vitruvius in Book V. Embedded in a later wall were several fine statues of members of the gens *Iulia*, which had probably been set up in the local Augusteum.<sup>3</sup>

## GREECE.

*Andros*.—Among the recent acquisitions of the new local museum are: (1) a marble *stèle* representing a man and seated woman, inscribed: *...του χρηστροί χαίρε*; (2) a sepulchral relief of a youth and a boy, inscribed: *Ἀσκληπιῶν Ἀσκληπιῶνος χαίρε*; (3) a head of a youth in marble, of the Roman period; (4) a slab of grey marble inscribed with a decree, similar to one given in *Athen. Mittheil.* i. (1876), p. 237.<sup>3</sup>

*Pavos*.—The excavations have been completed, and the whole of the Asklepieion thrown open. Near the temple on the Acropolis were found remains of apparently prehistoric dwellings, with painted and monochrome pottery. Some old tombs had been used again for later burials; these contained articles of jewellery, also a new type of sarcophagus, with cover like the roof of a temple and a place in the middle for the portrait of the deceased. Ross appears to have seen similar sarcophagi from Rheneia (*Reisen*, i. p. 36; *Arch. Aufs.* ii. p. 290). A shrine was found, with inscriptions to Artemis *Ἀθλία* and Athena *Κυθή*, consisting of a quadrangular temenos with altars, etc. Among the dedicatory offerings were bronze pins, terracottas, fragments of vases, and Egyptian figures.<sup>3</sup>

*Thessaly*.—Two new bee-hive tombs have been discovered near Marmaryani, but of a small and poor type. They contained vases with geometrical decoration and small iron objects. Traces of older (neolithic?) settlements were also visible, consisting of fragments of unpainted pottery, bones of animals worked into rude tools, querns, and stone implements, but absolutely no metal.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Athenaeum*, 2 Dec. 1899; cf. *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 9 Dec.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* 16 Dec.

<sup>3</sup> *Athen. Mittheil.* xxiv. (1899) p. 357, ff.

## BULGARIA.

*Philippopolis, Eastern Roumelia*.—M. Georges Seure, of the French School at Athens, has made an interesting discovery in the shape of a Thracian triumphal car of about the fourth century of the Empire. It was excavated in a tumulus, in which the servants and belongings of some general who fell in a battle close by, appear to have been interred. All the metallic fittings of the chariot were found, with small bronze decorative figures, the harness for one horse, five human skulls, and several weapons. The whole has now been put together in perfect order and exhibited in the local museum. It is said that only two other Roman chariots have been discovered, one of which is now in the Vatican.<sup>4</sup>

H. B. WALTERS.

*Numismatic Chronicle*, Part 3, 1899.

G. F. Hill. 'Olba, Cennatis, Lalassis. A study of the coinage and history based on a much fuller and more critical list of the coins than any hitherto published.—J. Maurice. 'Essai de classification chronologique des émissions monétaires de l'atelier d'Antioche pendant la période Constantinienne.'—G. F. Hill. 'Bibliographical notes on Greek numismatics.'—C. J. Rodgers. 'Roman coins found in India.' Denarii of the Republic and of early Emperors found in the Panjab.

*Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (Berlin). Vol. xxii. (1899), Parts 1-3.

R. Weil. 'Pisa.' On the connexion of the Pisatans with the Olympic Games and the gold coins supposed to have been struck by them in B.C. 364.—H. Dressel. 'Numismatische Analecten.' 1. Representations of the Temple of Vesta on Roman coins (with good photographs). 2. The well-known medallion of Antoninus Pius, with reverse, Tiber welcoming the serpent Aesculapius, represents the *navalia* (not a bridge) and Mons Aventinus (not the Tiber-Island itself). 3. ΕΡΩC on coins of the Constantine period. In some combinations of mint-letters this word appears. Dressel suggests that it is equivalent to AMOR which, read backwards, gives ROMA.—E. A. Stückelberg. 'Die Münzfunde von Vindonissa.' Roman coins, chiefly bronze, discovered in 1897 and 1898 at Windisch (*Vindonissa*) in Aargau, Switzerland. Many specimens were found cut in two (like our early silver pennies) for convenience of small change.—A. Dessau. 'Die Familie der Kaiserin Sulpicia Dryantilla.' From the inscription in the Heroon at Oenoanda Dessau gathers that this Empress was the daughter of one of the sons of the Roman Senator Sulpicius Pollio by his wife Claudia Ammiana Dryantilla.—Reviews. Macdonald's *Hunterian collection*; Wroth's *Coins of Galatia* &c.—*Obituaries* of A. Chabouillet (d. 5 Jan. 1899) and of Jan Pieter Six, the well-known numismatist of Amsterdam, who died 17 July, 1899.

WARWICK WROTH.

<sup>4</sup> *Daily News*, 10 Jan. 1900.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

**American Journal of Philology.** Vol. xx. 3. Whole No. 79. 1899.

*The Greek verbal in -TEO*, part iii., C. E. Bishop. *Semasiological Possibilities*, ii., F. A. Wood. *Servius and the Scholia of Daniel*, part i., R. B. Steele. *The Manuscripts of the Letters of Cicero to Atticus in the British Museum*, S. B. Platner. *The Structure of Dionysii Halicarnassensis Epistula ii. ad Ammaeum*, Winifred Warren.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES. Lane's *Latin Grammar for Schools and Colleges* (E. P. Morris). Masqueray's *Traité de métrique grecque* (C. W. E. Miller).

**Hermathena.** No. 25. 1899.

*The Second Temple of the Pythian Apollo*, J. B. Bury. *Notes and Corrections to Varro's R. R.* ii. iii., Robinson Ellis. *The Guest of Maecenas*, A. A. Burd. *The Sixty-seventh Ode of Catullus*, W. A. Goligher. *Sophocles Interpreted by Virgil*, A. A. Burd. *Notes on Cicero, Ad Atticum* xiii., J. S. Reid. *On Some Passages of Bacchylides*, F. Blass. *Professor Ellis's Edition of Velleius*, L. C. Purser. *Mr. E. A. W. Budge's Edition of the Lives of Mabd Seyón and Gabra Kréstós*, R. H. Charles. *A new Fragment of the Laches of Plato*, J. G. Smyly. *Palmer's Heroides of Ovid*, A. Leeper. *Mr. Kenyon's Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, J. G. Smyly. *Notes on Aristotle's Parva Naturalia*, J. I. Beare. *The Alcestis at Melbourne*, T. G. Tucker.

**Revue de Philologie.** Vol. 23, 4. October, 1899.

*Perse a-t-il attaqué Néron?*, E. Haguénin. The question is reduced to two irreconcilable terms, and has consequently two solutions, (1) if value is attached to the third sentence of the last paragraph of the *Vita* it follows clearly that Persius never attacked Nero, (2) if this sentence is rejected then the coincidence of certain lines in Persius (i. 93 99-102, 105) with a historical remark of Dion Cassius (lxi. 20) seems to confirm the opinion of which the trace is found in the second sentence of the *Vita*, viz. it is probable and only probable that P. has by allusions criticized Nero, but only as a poet. *Notes d'épigraphie miltésienne*. *Θυσία...θεωρία...θεωρία*, B. Haussoullier. The text of several inscriptions. The word above given is rightly explained by Hesychius s.v. *θυωρός* *τράπεζαν* *την τὰ ὄνη φυλάσσουσιν* i.e. *θυωρία* = *εὐχία*, see also Suidas s.v. *θυωρός* and Et. Magn. s.v. *θυωρίτης*. *Cicero*, Fin. i. §§ 61-72, L. Havet. Critical Notes. *Πελασγοί*, J. Lévy. Admitting the equation *πελασγός* = *πελαργός*, it is probable that *Πελασγός* denotes the man with white hair, the old man. The Pelasgians are to the Greeks nothing but those who have preceded them. In fact the Pelasgians only appear in order to be replaced by others, they are only the antecedent of what is known. *La prose métrique et le Dialogue des orateurs*, H. Bornecque. The author of the *Dialogus* and *Tacitus* are both opposed to a certain metrical prose which was sought after by Cicero and his followers. At the same time both knew the laws of metrical prose while not applying them. There is then much probability that the *Dialogus* is the work of *Tacitus*. The metrical prose also helps us to determine the date of the composition of the *Dialogus*. *Tacitus* wrote it about 81 but kept it in his drawer till he had become a celebrated author, and published it not earlier than 96. The

metrical prose thus confirms the hypothesis of Boissier put forward in the *Journal des Savants*, 1887, in a criticism of Goelzer's edition.

**Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc.** Vol. 3. Part 8, 1899.

*Der Landmann des Menandros*, U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. Menander's comedies are much more closely allied to the Euripidean tragedies than to the unrestrained licence of the old comedies. The *γεωργός* was a serious piece whose attraction lay in the contrast of character. From this fragment we can appreciate the true character of the plays of Menander which have been manipulated by Plautus and Terence. *Der Dichter Lucretius*, F. Marx. Seeks to fill up the gaps in our knowledge of the poet and deals especially with our information about his death, the dedication to Memmius, and the invocation of Venus. He lived from B.C. 96 to B.C. 55, and through his poem sought to become a client of the Memmian gens. The invocation of Venus was motivated by the fact that Memmius was the son-in-law of Sulla who was especially devoted to that goddess. It was probably composed in the year of his death when Pompey dedicated the Temple of Venus Victrix together with the new theatre. *Zum gegenwärtigen Stande der Platonischen Frage* (continued), O. Immisch. Agrees with Usener that the *Phaedrus* was composed in 403, though 409/408 may be taken as the assumed date, which will suit the opposition to the leaning of Lysias in rhetoric and democracy as well as the prophecy concerning Isocrates. Nothing in the subject matter conflicts with the early date, since the tri-partite division of the soul does not agree with that put forward in the Republic. *Die Urheimat der Germanen*, A. Hedinger. This is to be sought in Scandinavia. In an appendix H. Hirt from an historico-philosophical standpoint agrees with this result. *Zu Horatius, Carm. i. 20*, A. Teuber. Suggests *tu iubes uiam for tu bibes uiam*.

**Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie.** 1899.

22 Nov. C. Fredrich, *Hippokratische Untersuchungen* (R. Fuchs). 'A good book in spite of some weaknesses.' M. Hodermann, *Xenophon's Wirtschaftslehre* (A. Döring), favourable. *Mythographi Graeci*, III, 1. *Pseudo-Eratosthenis Catasterismi*, rec. A. Olivieri (G. Thiele), favourable. A. Uhl, *Quaestiones criticae in L. Annaei Senecae dialogos* (W. Gemoll), unfavourable.

29 Nov. J. Hampel, *Was lehrt Aischylos' Orestie für die Theaterfrage?* (M. Maas), favourable. W. Ruge and E. Friedrich, *Archäologische Karte von Kleinasien* (A. Körte), very favourable. *Dionysii Halicarnassi opuscula*, edd. H. Usener et L. Radermacher, I (G. Ammou). 'A model of learning, acumen, and accuracy.' J. Szczepanski, *Beitrag zur Therapie des Galen* and F. Meyer, *Beitrag zur Therapie des Galen* (R. Fuchs), favourable in both cases. E. Aust, *Die Religion der Römer* (H. Steudting). 'Deserves a hearty welcome.' E. Diehl, *De M. finali epigraphica* (M. I.), favourable.

6 Dec. Th. Boreas, *Das weltbildende Prinzip in der platonischen Philosophie* (A. Döring). Shows learning and ability, but is misconceived. *Aristotelis Ars rhetorica*, it. ed. A. Roemer (M. Wallies), favourable. L. Cohn, *Einteilung und Chronologie*



der Schriften Philo (R. Asmus), very favourable. H. Doege, *Quae ratio intercedat inter Panaetium et Antiochum Ascalonitum in morali philosophia* (Hoyer), favourable. Horatius, *Die Oden und Epoden*, erkl. von E. Rosenberg, 3. A. (J. Häussner). 'Highly to be recommended for school use.'

13 Dec. R. Meister, *Beiträge zur griechischen Epigraphik und Dialektologie*. I. (P. Cauer), favourable. S. Reiter, *Die Abschiedsrede der Antigone* (H. Morsch). 'Smoothly written, simple, and modest.' L. Horton-Smith, *The Establishment and Extension of the Law of Thurneysen and Havet* (Bartholomae). 'Carries the problem no further.' G. L. Hendrickson, I. *The Dramatic Satire and the Old Comedy at Rome*. II. *A Pre-Varronian Chapter of Roman Literary History* (J. Tolkiehn). 'Shows acuteness and learning but does not convince on all points.' F. Ramorino, *Ligdamo e Ovidio*, C. Pascal, I. *Un titolo di un poema di Cicerone*. II. *Lezioni di alcuni passi di Cicerone* (J. Tolkiehn), unfavourable. Quintiliano, *Il libro X della Instituzione oratoria*, comm. da D. Bassi (H. Steinberg), very favourable. P. Wessner,

*Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Scholien-Litteratur* (O. Froehde), favourable.

20 Dec. Ph. Martinon, *Sophocle, Oedipe à Colone*, traduit en vers (H. Morsch). Chr. Kirchhoff, *Dramatische Orchestik der Hellenen* (M. Maas). Much learning and labour misdirected. W. Koch, *Kaiser Julian der Abtrünnige* (R. Asmus), very favourable. Horatii carmina, Textausgabe von G. Krüger (O. Weissenfels), favourable. W. Dennison, *The epigraphic sources of the writings of Suetonius* (B. Kübler), favourable. *Commentationes philologicae Jenenses* vi. 2 (Klotz), favourable.

27 Dec. *Sophokles*, erkl. von F. W. Schneidewin und A. Nauck. 8. Bändchen. Anhang, von E. Bruhn (H. G.). *Imagines inscriptionum graecarum antiquissimarum*, it. composuit H. Roehl (O. Kern). Good, in spite of some strange omissions. C. E. Bishop, *The Greek Verbal in -reo*. I. (P. Cauer). 'No new results obtained.' F. Götting, *De Flavio Capro Consentii Fonte* (O. Froehde), favourable. W. Sieglin, *Schulatlas zur Geschichte des Altertums* (R. Oehler), favourable.

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## ADDENDUM.

## 'AGRICOLA'S INVASION OF IRELAND ONCE MORE.'

PROF. ALFRED GUDEMAN desires the following additional corrections (which arrived too late to be incorporated) to be made in his paper on the above:—

On p. 52 cancel note 2 and substitute:—

The presence, finally, of the deposed Irish King in Agricola's camp is far more plausibly accounted for if he came there after Agricola's invasion, than if we suppose him, on hearing of Agricola, to have taken refuge with the Roman general. Again, Agricola, if he had not yet carried out his intention of invading Ireland, would have had every reason for retaining an exile embittered against his countrymen, *amicitiæ causa* not *specie amicitiae*. After his return, however, there were good grounds for suspecting anyone who came from Ireland.

P. 53. To end of first paragraph ('acquainted') add the following note:—

All previous knowledge of the island, acquired through traders, is expressly said to have been confined to the approaches and harbors. The immediately preceding item of information, meagre though it be, was, therefore, clearly due to another source, namely to Agricola, who, if *domuit* etc. have any reference to Ireland at all, must have proceeded farther than the *aditus et portus*.